# Daily Report

# Central Eurasia

FBIS-SOV-93-085
Wednesday
5 May 1993

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*FBIS-SOV-93-085* *5 May 1993*

CONTENTS

**NOTICE TO READERS:** An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.


**INTERREGIONAL AFFAIRS**

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 5 May ..... 1

**RUSSIA INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS**

Secretary of State Christopher Arrives in Moscow *[ITAR-TASS]* ..... 2
Hopes for Talks Previewed *[KOMMERSANT-DAILY 5 May]* ..... 2
Christopher Meets With Yeltsin *[Moscow Radio]* ..... 2
Press Secretary on Meeting *[ITAR-TASS]* ..... 3
Christopher, Kozyrev Talks Begin *[ITAR-TASS]* ..... 3
Joint Press Statement *[ITAR-TASS]* ..... 4
Paper Hails Diplomatic Role in Vance-Owen Acceptance *[IZVESTIYA 5 May]* ..... 4
Vice President Gore Cited on Support for Russia Reforms *[IZVESTIYA 4 May]* ..... 5
CIA's Changed Role Since USSR's Demise Eyed *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 4 May]* ..... 5
Program Examines Clinton's First 100 Days *[Moscow TV]* ..... 6
PRAVDA Notes Americans' Dissatisfaction *[4 May]* ..... 8
Easing of U.S. Grain Supply Terms Achieved *[IZVESTIYA 4 May]* ..... 9
U.S. Unit in Japan Tracking Russian Satellites *[ITAR-TASS]* ..... 10
Efforts To Arrange Yeltsin Japan Visit Continue *[IZVESTIYA 4 May]* ..... 10
Hopes for Visit 'Dwindling' *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 5 May]* ..... 11
New Arrangements for Financing Japanese Aid *[IZVESTIYA 30 Apr]* ..... 12
Fyodorov Meets Portuguese Foreign Minister *[ITAR-TASS]* ..... 12
Silva Visit, Angola Discussed *[Lisbon Radio]* ..... 12
Grachev, French Navy Chief of Staff Hold Talks *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 5 May]* ..... 13
Background to Foreign Ministry Protest to Georgia *[SEGODNYA 4 May]* ..... 13
Moscow, Warsaw Sign Friendship Treaty *[ITAR-TASS]* ..... 14
Filatov Meets With UN Legal Experts *[ITAR-TASS]* ..... 14

**RUSSIA NATIONAL AFFAIRS**

**May Day Activities**

Further Reportage on May Day Events ..... 15
Khasbulatov Addresses Nation *[Russian TV]* ..... 15
Parliament Commission Meets *[ITAR-TASS]* ..... 17
Parliament Commission Challenged *[ITAR-TASS]* ..... 18
OMON Trooper Dies of Injuries *[Moscow TV]* ..... 18
Blame Apportioned *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 4 May]* ..... 18
More on Opposition News Conference *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 4 May]* ..... 19
Parliament's 'Pro-Coup' Attitude Criticized *[ITAR-TASS]* ..... 20
City Government on 'Provocation' *[ITAR-TASS]* ..... 20
Organizations Urge Punishment *[ITAR-TASS]* ..... 21
Official Urges 'Tough' Action *[ITAR-TASS]* ..... 21
Unrest Called 'Cunning Provocation' *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 4 May]* ..... 21
Russian Communists Protest 'Bloodletting' *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 4 May]* ..... 22
Demonstrators Issue 'Appeal' *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 4 May]* ..... 23
Coup Plotters May Return to Jail *[ITAR-TASS]* ..... 23
Marchers Had Factory-Made Weapons *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 5 May]* ..... 23
Nearly All Detainees Free *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 5 May]* ..... 24
National Salvation Front Leader Cited *[Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES 4 May]* ..... 24
Moscow Democratic Russia Head Cited *[IZVESTIYA 5 May]* ..... 25

Knives, Explosives Ready for 9 May *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 5 May]* ..... 26

**Political Issues**

Yeltsin Awaits Referendum Results, Prepares Decrees *[ITAR-TASS]* ..... 27
Roundup of Final Referendum Results *[ITAR-TASS]* ..... 27
Deputy Premier Shumeyko Holds News Conference 5 May ..... 28
Opposition 'Planned' May Day Action *[ITAR-TASS]* ..... 28
Thinks Appointments Will Enforce Government *[ITAR-TASS]* ..... 28
Inflation Remains Major Concern *[ITAR-TASS]* ..... 28
Yeltsin Issues Decree on Establishing Monitoring Council *[Moscow Radio]* ..... 28
Functions of New Departments Outlined *[ITAR-TASS]* ..... 29
Article Sees 'Swift Onset' of Khasbulatov's 'Isolation' *[IZVESTIYA 4 May]* ..... 29
Newly Appointed Vice Premier Soskovets Profiled *[KOMMERSANT-DAILY 4 May]* ..... 30
Agenda Outlined for 6 May Government Session *[ITAR-TASS]* ..... 30
Edict Banning Parties From State, Public Bodies *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 4 May]* ..... 30
Motives for Rutskoy Ouster from Anti-Crime Job Eyed *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 4 May]* ..... 31
Democratic Party Applauds Travkin Stand on Elections *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 4 May]* ..... 32
Deputies Urged To Leave 'Rotten Body' *[IZVESTIYA 4 May]* ..... 33
Passport, Visa Chief on Current Problems *[IZVESTIYA 28 Apr]* ..... 34

**Economic Issues**

Chernomyrdin Appoints Economic Adviser *[KOMMERSANT-DAILY 4 May]* ..... 35
Government, Trade Unions Agree on 1993 Interaction *[ITAR-TASS]* ..... 35
Government Session 29 Apr Decisions Reported *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 30 Apr]* ..... 36
New Approach to Privatization Urged *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 30 Apr]* ..... 37
Statistics Suggest Reform Starting To Work *[IZVESTIYA 28 Apr]* ..... 38
First Quarter Exports Up, Imports 'Considerably' Down *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 4 May]* ..... 39
Conference Plans To Boost Agricultural Machine Building *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 4 May]* ..... 40
Number of Private Farmers Increases to 23,000 *[Radio Rossii]* ..... 40
'Insignificant' Number of Science Workers Join Brain Drain *[IZVESTIYA 30 Apr]* ..... 40

**Military Issues**

Defense Minister Grachev Presents Awards to Veterans *[Moscow Radio]* ..... 40
Cited on Victory Holiday *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 5 May]* ..... 41
Border Guard Deputy Commander on Border Law *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 4 May]* ..... 41

**Supreme Soviet**

U.S. Senators Meet Committee for Defense, Security *[Russian TV]* ..... 41
'Democratic' Deputies Call for Congress' Dissolution *[Moscow Radio]* ..... 41
Democratic Lawmakers Plan To Leave Congress Without Quorum *[ITAR-TASS]* ..... 42
Dissolution of Parliament Committee Viewed *[IZVESTIYA 30 Apr]* ..... 42

**Regional Affairs**

Chechen Talks Continue; Some Agreement on Issues *[ITAR-TASS]* ..... 43
Rallies 'Winding Down' *[IZVESTIYA 5 May]* ..... 43
New Speaker Opponent of Dudayev *[KOMMERSANT-DAILY 4 May]* ..... 43
Chernomyrdin Visits Orenburg Regional Enterprises *[ITAR-TASS]* ..... 44
Kalmyk Constitutional Changes Viewed, President Cited *[IZVESTIYA 4 May]* ..... 44
Peacekeepers Control North Ossetia Emergency Zone *[ITAR-TASS]* ..... 45
Far East Commander Asked To Head Cossacks Movement *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 5 May]* ..... 45
North Caucasus Military District Marks Anniversary *[Moscow TV]* ..... 45
Regional Leaders Comment on Draft Constitution *[ITAR-TASS]* ..... 46
Northern Fleet Wants Island Bases Closed To Save Money *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 4 May]* ..... 46

## UKRAINE

### International Affairs

Parliament Reportedly Delays Debate on START I Treaty *[AFP]* ..... 47
Defense Minister Returns From Riga Conference *[Kiev International]* ..... 47
Views Non-Alignment, Security Issues *[Kiev International]* ..... 47
Vice Premier Views Tasks of Business Colloquium *[HOLOS UKRAYINY 30 Apr]* ..... 47

### National Affairs

Kuchma Warns of 'Major Calamity' Ahead *[IZVESTIYA 4 May]* ..... 49
Defense Minister Views Situation in Armed Forces *[ZA VILNU UKRAYINU 27 Apr]* ..... 51
Kravchuk Meets With Crimean Supreme Soviet Chairman *[Kiev International]* ..... 54

## WESTERN REGION

### Belarus

Kebich Stresses Importance of Joining CIS Security Treaty *[ITAR-TASS]* ..... 55
Servicemen's Welfare Committee Chairman Views Goals *[SEM DNEY 24 Apr]* ..... 55

### Moldova

Snegur Receives Romanian Envoy, Suggests Summit *[Bucharest Radio]* ..... 56
UN Experts View Financial Aid Requirements *[BASAPRESS]* ..... 56
Sangheli Heads Delegation to Israel, Meets With President *[BASAPRESS]* ..... 56

## CENTRAL ASIA

### Kyrgyzstan

Uzbek Troops Conducted Exercises on Territory *[ITAR-TASS]* ..... 57
German Parliamentary Delegation Visits *[ITAR-TASS]* ..... 57
Akayev Comments on Status of Russian Language *[Moscow Radio]* ..... 57
Article Left Unchanged *[ITAR-TASS]* ..... 57
Supreme Soviet Approves Republic's Formal Name *[Moscow Radio]* ..... 57

### Tajikistan

Opposition Forces Driven Out of Pamir Region *[ITAR-TASS]* ..... 58
Military Aircraft Shot Down in Border Fighting *[Dushanbe Radio]* ..... 58
Defense Ministry Statement *[Dushanbe Radio]* ..... 58

### Turkmenistan

President, Iranian Minister Discuss Economic Ties *[Tehran IRNA]* ..... 59
President Denounces Attempts To Isolate Iran *[Tehran Radio]* ..... 59

### Uzbekistan

Clan System Seen Posing Problems for Karimov *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 30 Apr]* ..... 59

## CAUCASUS

### Armenia

Foreign Ministry Issues Statement on Fighting *[Yerevan International]* ..... 61
Welcomes UN Resolution *[Yerevan International]* ..... 61
President Meets Uruguay's Envoy, Views Karabakh Security *[Yerevan Radio]* ..... 61
Commission To Oversee Export Control of Weapons Materials *[SNARK]* ..... 62

### Azerbaijan

Security Minister: Armenian Troops Leaving Kelbadzhar *[Russian TV]* ..... 62
Armenian Acts Called Attempt To 'Torpedo' UN Resolutions *[ASSA-IRADA]* ..... 62
Elchibey, Georgian Vice Premier Hold Cooperation Talks *[Baku TV]* ..... 62
Elchibey To Visit Great Britain in Late May *[TURAN]* ..... 62
Guseynov, Turkish Parliamentarians Discuss Cooperation *[Baku Radio]* ..... 63
Ministers Accuse Opposition of Harming Political Situation *[ASSA-IRADA]* ..... 63

### Georgia

West Not To 'Become Involved' in CIS Disputes *[Moscow Radio]* ..... 63
Kitovani Says Russian Reactionaries Support Abkhazia *[Russian TV]* ..... 63
Shevardnadze Meets With CSCE Delegation *[CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY]* ..... 63
Shevardnadze Addresses Parliament on Cabinet Nominations *[Tbilisi Radio]* ..... 64
Sigua Holds Talks With PRC Ambassador *[Tbilisi Radio]* ..... 64
Chikvaidze, French Envoy Discuss Joint Ties *[Tbilisi Radio]* ..... 64
Top Military Adviser Discusses Abkhazian War *[NOVAYA GAZETA Apr]* ..... 65

## BALTIC STATES

### Estonia

Einseln Accepts Defense Chief Post Despite U.S. Opposition *[BNS]* ..... 67
Government Abolishes More Visa Requirements *[Tallinn Radio]* ..... 67
Government Initials Civil Aviation Pact With Ukraine *[ETA NEWS RELEASE]* ..... 67

### Latvia

Supreme Council: No Confidence in Agriculture Minister *[Riga Radio]* ..... 67
Minister's Supporters Picket Parliament *[Riga Radio]* ..... 68
Godmanis Delegation Departs for France *[Riga Radio]* ..... 68
Defense Chief Protests Russian Army Staff Exercise *[Riga Radio]* ..... 68
NATO General Arrives in Riga on 3-Day Visit *[LETA]* ..... 68
Meets Defense Minister, Forces Commander *[Riga Radio]* ..... 68

### Lithuania

Further on Controversy Over U.S. Envoy Recall ..... 68
Brazauskas Criticizes Envoy *[Vilnius International]* ..... 68
Center Movement Opposes Recall *[Vilnius International]* ..... 69
Landsbergis Calls Decision 'Disadvantageous' *[BNS]* ..... 69
Ambassador Discusses Reassignment *[BNS]* ..... 69
Prime Minister Comments on Social Policy Problems *[Vilnius International]* ..... 70
Armed Forces Fail To Recruit Enough Soldiers *[ITAR-TASS]* ..... 71

## ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 5 May

*LD0505050193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0439 GMT 5 May 93*

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow May 5 TASS—By ITAR-TASS:

The press on Wednesday [5 May] publishes a joint statement issued by President Boris Yeltsin and Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin in view of the May Day developments at Kaluzhskaya Gate in Moscow. The president and the prime minister expressed deep sympathy for all the victims of the clashes.

"The May Day developments indicate that in society there are forces which do not want and are incapable of acting lawfully and democratically, preferring methods of demagoguery and incitement to terror," the statement points out.

President Abulfaz Elchibey of Azerbaijan believes that if the present situation prompts the world community to actively intervene in the Karabakh conflict, the Kelbadzhar victory would result in a political defeat for the Armenian side.

"However strong the Armenian lobby and pro-Armenian sentiments are in individual countries, when matters reach a point when it would be necessary to determine the principles of peace, both the United Nations, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and those countries would be guided primarily by international law," Elchibey said in an interview published in today's NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA (INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER).

Elchibey's opinion is that the Armenians should decide for themselves what for they wage a war in Karabakh. If they fight to separate Karabakh from Azerbaijan, there would never be peace in the Transcaucasus.

"We cannot recognise that Karabakh is not ours, for it is a legal fact that Karabakh is part of Azerbaijan. The borders of Azerbaijan have been recognised by the world community and the war we are conducting is not just a war over Karabakh. This is a war for the sake of asserting international law and the principle of the inviolability of borders. Azerbaijan will not be a country to originate a universal recarving of borders which would plunge the world into chaos".

Speaking about the role of Russia in the peace process, the president emphasised that Azerbaijan welcomes the mediation of Russia, just as that of any other country or international organisation.

"We want to be good neighbours with Russia. The only thing we do not want is to become dependent again. We do not want our sovereignty to become a fiction," Elchibey said.

"Inflation is the enemy number one" is the opinion which Professor Boris Raizberg, an expert at the working economic reform centre to the president of the Russian Federation, expresses in an article in the newspaper ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI.

"The present-day crisis state of the Russian economy is characterised first of all by a deep and continuous downturn in production, which mounted up to 35 per cent over the past two years," the scientist points out.

Warning about the possibility of hyperinflation, Raizberg writes that it is capable of resulting in utter ruin and break-up of production and the economy. "As long as we try simultaneously to prevent the bankruptcy of enterprises with the aid of credits, to keep those who have nothing to do employed, to satisfy excessive demands for higher pay by the personnel of various sectors, to provide social protection and maintenance for those who can protect and maintain themselves—we would not get out of the inflation bog," the expert maintains.

The problems of the social security of servicemen are raised in ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI by Colonel-General Valeriy Mironov, deputy minister of defence. He believes in particular that "the flywheel of military reform will run idle" until social problems are resolved.

Colonel-General Boris Gromov, deputy minister of defence, tells in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA about servicemen-internationalists, their movement and problems. Gromov is convinced that "the serviceman- internationalist is a title which one should not renounce."

## Secretary of State Christopher Arrives in Moscow

*LD0405180293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1748 GMT 4 May 93*

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Aleksandr Smelyakov]

[Text] Moscow May 4 TASS—U.S. State Secretary Warren Christopher arrived here today.

The official is expected to meet Russian President Boris Yeltsin and hold negotiations with Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev to discuss settlement of the Yugoslav conflict and aspects of bilateral relations.

## Hopes for Talks Previewed

*MK0505094493 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 5 May 93 p 9*

[Andrey Yedemskiy, Viktor Zamyatin report: "Russia's Policy in the Balkans. Washington Is Ready To Listen to Moscow's Arguments"]

[Text] The course of the latest events concerning the Yugoslav crisis has considerably pepped up the diplomacy of all the interested sides. Bill Clinton's administration, which has drawn up a program that does not exclude military intervention in Bosnia, is playing an increasingly active part in the Bosnian settlement process. At the same time, Washington is striving to avoid unilateral acts and is therefore trying to coordinate its actions with its allies, without excluding Russia from the consultation process. Yesterday evening U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher, who is making a tour of European capitals, arrived in Moscow for talks with Boris Yeltsin and Andrey Kozyrev on a Yugoslav settlement. Obviously, the final option for the world community's actions could emerge as a result of symbiosis between the Russian plan of "purely diplomatic measures" and the U.S. "option of force."

In the opinion of observers, lately the U.S. President has been influenced by those Washington politicians who believe that Radovan Karadzic's signature on the Vance-Owen plan (see KOMMERSANT-DAILY for 4 May) is merely a tactical step designed to play for time. Although the new U.S. strategy approved by President Clinton on 1 May has not yet been officially announced, it is already known that it envisions such methods of putting pressure on the Bosnian Serbs as bombing their positions and the highways linking Yugoslavia with areas controlled by them, and lifting the embargo on delivering arms to the Muslims. According to the latest reports from the White House, these plans remain in force despite Karadzic's signature. Furthermore, this signature alone is insufficient—it still has to be approved by the Serb parliament, while a cease-fire must be guaranteed by all sides.

The prevailing opinion within the U.S. Administration is that a premature weakening of pressure on the Serbs will only reduce the chances of ending the military actions in Bosnia. The White House is trying to convince the other Security Council members of this. The carrying out of "agitation work" has become one of the main aims of Christopher's current tour of Europe. In London he managed to enlist the support of the Major government. A little earlier the French leaders agreed with the U.S. secretary of state's arguments.

After Yeltsin's victory in the referendum, Christopher, by all accounts, is counting on if not Moscow's complete support for Washington's position, at least the Russian leadership's agreement not to use its Security Council veto in the event of a vote on the question of military intervention or the lifting of the embargo on arms deliveries to the Bosnian Muslims. Washington is pinning its hopes for the success of Christopher's mission on the fact that Moscow will not want to come into conflict with the international community because of the Serbs' intransigence, and will especially not want "to be dragged into a new world war because of them," as representatives of both the Foreign Ministry and parliament repeatedly stated last week. At the same time, in the opinion of KOMMERSANT-DAILY experts, Russian diplomacy will continue to put the emphasis on exclusively political means of settling the conflict. Thus, Christopher's Moscow talks could consequently give rise to proposals combining features of both the "American stick" and the "Russian carrot."

KOMMERSANT-DAILY will return to this subject tomorrow.

## Christopher Meets With Yeltsin

*LD0505095793 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0830 GMT 5 May 93*

[Report by correspondent Yuriy Semenov from the Grand Kremlin Palace in Moscow on 5 May—live or recorded]

[Text] Good afternoon! Today a meeting between Russian President Boris Yeltsin and U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher took place in the Kremlin. As you know, Warren Christopher is paying a short visit to Moscow. The meeting lasted for one hour and ended approximately 40 minutes ago.

The main topic of the conversation was naturally the situation in the Yugoslav region. Today a decision of the Bosnian Serb parliament on the Vance-Owen plan is expected. The Russian side expressed the optimism that the Bosnian Serb parliament will be wise and adopt this plan. The U.S. delegation is more skeptical about it. At any rate, both sides proceeded from the fact that if the opportunity to realize this plan appears naturally the cooperation between the United States and Russia and other interested parties will help to make this plan realistic, to make this plan work. Other versions were not discussed today at the meeting. Of course, this was the main topic of the conversations.

But they also spoke very warmly about their meeting in Vancouver. Regular contacts between Presidents

Clinton and Yeltsin have been especially highly assessed by both sides and it is likely that as soon as the situation around Bosnia becomes clearer there will be another conversation between the U.S. and Russian presidents in the near future.

The U.S. secretary of state congratulated Boris Nikolayevich on his success in the referendum. Thanking him for this, the Russian president spoke about the events which took place on May Day—condemning them harshly, of course. He said they were an indication of how desperate the national communists are to keep afloat, by means of provocations, after their major defeat. Yeltsin informed the U.S. visitor that a group of 50 investigators has been set up and insisted that under no circumstances will the Russian authorities allow any provocations to take place on 9 May.

At the end of the meeting both participants congratulated each other and their respective negotiating partners on the forthcoming anniversary of victory over the common enemy in World War II, German fascism. They agreed that although the level of cooperation achieved during the war was great, the peaceful atmosphere of present times offers prospects for far broader cooperation, peaceful cooperation, in many spheres of activity.

After the Kremlin talks, the U.S. delegation headed by Christopher left for further talks, this time between Kozyrev and Christopher. After these talks, which will again deal mainly with the Bosnian situation, a joint communique or statement is expected to be issued by both delegations.

That is what I can tell you at this hour from the Grand Kremlin Palace.

### Press Secretary on Meeting

*LD0505120293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1135 GMT 5 May 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow May 5 TASS—"There are earnest hopes that the Bosnian Serb parliament will accept the Vance-Owen plan on Wednesday," Vyacheslav Kostikov, press secretary of the president of Russia, said at the close of a meeting in the Kremlin between Boris Yeltsin and U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher.

In that case, a mechanism for the implementation of the plan would be started upon mutual consultations, Kostikov said.

"Any further options of action in the event of non-acceptance of the plan were not discussed during the meeting in the Kremlin," the press secretary added.

The Yeltsin-Christopher meeting took place several hours before the Bosnian Serb parliament meets to consider the Vance-Owen plan.

In the opinion of the American side, a certain breakthrough was made at the recent talks in Athens on a settlement of the Bosnian conflict, partially due to the fact that the president of Russia displayed both great flexibility and firmness by making a statement on Yugoslavia.

The U.S. secretary of state said if the Vance-Owen plan is accepted, the U.S. side would like to closely cooperate with Russia in implementing it. On the whole, according to the press secretary, the president of Russia "expressed guarded optimism that the Bosnian Serb parliament, faced with the likelihood of bloodshed, would show wisdom and take a crucial decision."

if the Bosnian Serbs refuse to accept the Vance-Owen plan, a procedure for consultations, probably at foreign ministers' level, among five countries involved in the elaboration and implementation of the Vance-Owen plan would be activated. In the opinion of the press secretary, the Russian side takes a more optimistic view of the possibility of acceptance of the plan while the American side shows more scepticism.

The Wednesday meeting also dealt with broader aspects of Russian- U.S. cooperation. Boris Yeltsin said the new situation presupposes most close consultations on all problems. "A situation which existed during the cold-war period when we learned about each other's intentions or actions from media reports is now ruled out," he added.

In an estimate of the situation in Russia, Yeltsin pointed out that the May Day developments in Moscow reveal the despair of the national-communists following the major setback they suffered as a result of the referendum. They feel the onset of the bloc's agony and therefore decided to resort to a provocation. "On May 9 we shall not allow any provocations," the president emphasised.

The president of Russia and the U.S. secretary of state congratulated each other on the upcoming regular anniversary of the victory over Nazi Germany. The time has come to deepen cooperation to exceed the level which existed during the Second World War years, Mr Christopher remarked in this connection.

The U.S. secretary of state said Bill Clinton highly appreciates the permanent contact with Boris Yeltsin and the two presidents are likely to have a telephone conversation in the coming days on the outcome of voting in the Bosnian Serb parliament.

### Christopher, Kozyrev Talks Begin

*LD0505092793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0913 GMT 5 May 93*

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Aleksandr Smelyakov, Georgiy Shmelev, and Igor Shubin]

[Text] Moscow May 5 TASS—Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs Andrey Kozyrev and U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher have begun one-to-one talks in Moscow.

Welcoming his American counterpart before the beginning of talks, Kozyrev expressed confidence that Warren Christopher's meeting with Russian President Boris Yeltsin was fruitful. "We regard your visit as evidence of the fact that Russo-American relations are becoming relations of partners," the Russian minister added.

Kozyrev and Christopher will discuss the settlement of the Yugoslav crisis and bilateral relations.

### Joint Press Statement

*LD0505142893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1357 GMT 5 May 93*

[Text] Moscow May 5 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin received on May 5 in Moscow U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher staying on a working visit in Russia on the instruction of U.S. President Bill Clinton. The Russian foreign minister and the U.S. secretary of state, during a meeting and subsequent negotiations held a positive and detailed discussion of the situation in former Yugoslavia. A joint Russo-American statement for the press was adopted upon the conclusion of the talks.

The sides emphasised the importance of partnership established between Russia and the United States. They confirmed their resolve to continue acting in close contact toward achieving a peaceful settlement of the tragic conflict in former Yugoslavia, to continue the dialogue that is being conducted and to hold meetings at a ministerial level.

The signing of Vance-Owen plan by all the sides involved in the conflict in Bosnia is an important step in the framework of coordinated efforts taken by the world community, Russia and United States, the document says. Russia and the United States urged Bosnian Serbs to adopt and fulfill Vance-Owen plan and called on all parties to act in accordance with the provisions of the plan. If Bosnian Serbs adopt Vance-Owen plan and all parties act in accordance with its provisions, Russia and the United States will be jointly pressing for the implementation on the plan and of appropriate peaceful measures under the auspices of the united nations. Russia and the United States are also prepared to assign their military units to assist these peacemaking efforts.

If Vance-Owen plan is not adopted and not implemented, Russia and the United States will immediately resume discussing tougher measures, the joint statement says.

### Paper Hails Diplomatic Role in Vance-Owen Acceptance

*PM0405185593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 May 93 First Edition p 4*

[Nikolay Yermolovich report under the "Analysis and Forecast" rubric: "On Wednesday the Bosnian Serbs Will Have To Choose Between War and Peace"]

[Text] The world sighed with obvious relief when Bosnian Serb leader R. Karadzic signed the final documents comprising the Vance-Owen plan in Athens—because there was no alternative. Peace or war—that was precisely how the question stood. Peace has won for the moment.

And here Russian diplomacy must be given its due. Though it has constantly found itself between a rock and a hard place—between the demands of the ultrapatriotic public to support the "sacred cause of the Orthodox Serbs" no matter what, and a sober, considered course toward a peaceful settlement of the Bosnian crisis together with the whole world community—it has done a great deal in the Yugoslav sphere. Remember the numerous statements by Russian Foreign Minister A. Kozyrev, who has spoken from various rostrums, even the highest. Remember the innumerable "shuttle trips" taken by his deputy, V. Churkin, between Moscow, Geneva, New York, Belgrade, Zagreb, and Sarajevo... All the Russian diplomats' efforts and all their energy has been aimed at convincing both world and Yugoslav public opinion that all is not yet lost, that time has not run out, that not all political resources have been tapped, and that the worst peace is a thousand times better than any war. The fruitful cooperation between our diplomats and the authors of the famous plan, the cochairmen of the coordinating committee of the London conference on the former Yugoslavia—C. Vance and Lord Owen—should be specially noted.

Yu. Vorontsov, Russia's permanent representative at the United Nations, has done a great deal too. Certain world mass media have written not without irony about the constant attempts by Russian diplomats first to soften the text, and then to postpone the adoption of the Security Council resolution on tightening sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. This is all true, so to speak. And without the shadow of a doubt this all played its role. It did not embitter the new Yugoslavia, but conversely, showed it that it is not alone, that it has sincere friends and staunch allies.

I wrote at the beginning that "peace has won for the moment." A great deal, if not everything, will be resolved Wednesday 5 May, when the Bosnian Serb Assembly starts discussing the documents signed by R. Karadzic. He himself firmly hopes that the deputies will ratify them. Otherwise the leader of the Bosnian Serbs intends to resign. According to Karadzic, he decided to sign the peace agreements because "the map of the division of Bosnia and Herzegovina (and, as we know, that was the stumbling block—N.Ye.) may be easier to modify amid peace rather than amid bloodshed."

You cannot fail to agree with this statement. Once the shooting dies down, peace will return to the long-suffering Yugoslav land. Animosity and hatred will gradually disappear. Neighbors who find themselves in different trenches will suddenly remember that their

families lived harmoniously beside each other for centuries. And then the most difficult and most agonizing problems will not seem insoluble.

Serbian President S. Milosevic has also spoken in favor of such a development of events. Speaking on television, as our Belgrade correspondent Ye. Vostrukhov reports, he condemned, probably more resolutely and directly than ever before, the provocative actions and appeals of the Serbian chauvinists and extremists of all hues. S. Milosevic publicly dissociated himself from the extremist wing of the Serbian leadership in Bosnia and its reckless policy. S. Milosevic also openly condemned for the first time the Serbian Radicals, the second largest party in Serbia, whose leaders advocate continuing the war in Bosnia, unifying all Serbian territories, and creating a Greater Serbia. At a press conference V. Seselj, the leader of the Radicals, condemned the Vance-Owen plan and described it as contrary to the national interests of the Serbian people.

As we can see, the fight for the adoption of the plan and, most importantly, for its implementation is still to come. U.S. President B. Clinton has refrained from making an assessment of the signing of the UN peace plan by Karadzic. "I want to judge them by their actions; we will see what they do," he said during a short meeting with journalists in the White House. B. Clinton noted that he will "wait impatiently for the vote in the Bosnian Serbs' parliament Wednesday on ratifying the agreements signed by R. Karadzic."

I will not be exaggerating if I say that many people will be waiting for this with the same impatience. Maybe this is the first time that the world community has faced such a difficult and serious test.

## Vice President Gore Cited on Support for Russia Reforms

*PM0505080393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 May 93 First Edition p 3*

[Untitled ITAR-TASS report]

[Text] U.S. Vice President Albert Gore expressed the view that the political and economic reform processes being conducted in Russia must be supported. "What is happening in Russia is incredible," he stressed, speaking on the NBC "Meet the Press" program on Sunday. "President Clinton managed to persuade the entire international community to support Boris Yeltsin's regime at a point in history when Russia was threatened with the danger of traveling in the wrong direction."

"A bipartisan U.S. Congress delegation made up of members of the House of Representatives and the Senate, including the leadership of these houses, has just returned from Russia," Gore continued. "And they informed President Clinton that they believe that it is in the interest of the United States to give assistance to Russia in continuing the movement toward democracy and the free market."

When asked "where the administration intends to get $1.8 billion to aid Russia," the vice president said notably: "We in the administration have discussed possible ways of carrying out our promises. These discussions are continuing."

## CIA's Changed Role Since USSR's Demise Eyed

*PM0405160593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 May 93 p 3*

[Mikhail Pogorelyy article: "Why the 'Dragon Hunters' Have Become 'Snakecatchers'"]

[Text] The "dragon," to use the colorful expression of James Woolsey, the present CIA chief, is the Soviet Union. When the Soviet Union left history's stage, the "hunters," by whom Mr. Woolsey meant his department, began wondering whether this was as good as it used to seem in the days of the "dragon hunt." After all, a large but nevertheless single problem has been replaced by a multitude of small but equally unpleasant and even dangerous ones, problems which the CIA director himself likened to poisonous jungle snakes in the world today. You need to watch these snakes, avoid unforeseen contact with them as much as possible, and where necessary neutralize them. But this means that the specialists, accustomed to "big-game hunting," need to be given new bearings and perhaps retraining.

...The global priorities of U.S. foreign intelligence are congruent with the areas of America's overall foreign strategy. Its main task is to safeguard national security and protect the national interests. In Washington this is usually taken to mean asserting the country's firm stand in the international arena, recruiting some states as its allies and preventing others from causing harm. In practice this strategy is demonstrated in concrete diplomatic actions (the holding of talks, the signing of treaties, the expression of protests, and other demarches), in the dynamics of foreign economic ties (the imposition or lifting of trade restrictions, the granting of credits or the freezing of trade and financial contacts), and in the flexing or easing of military muscle in given regions of the world (and possibly placing the country on full combat readiness, a state in which it bristles like a hedgehog and is ready to do battle with the whole world). There is virtually no operation which can manage without intelligence, because it is designed to provide information to all the state power structures responsible for the areas of policy outlined above.

So far the American specialists, like their Soviet counterparts furthermore, have focused their attention primarily on the preparations of an enemy (the probable enemy, as far as diplomats were concerned) for launching a nuclear missile war. It was to this that all the efforts of the combatants on the invisible front line were subordinated and it was to here, incidentally, that the largest appropriations were directed. It is not that there were no other problems in the world in those days, but

they paled against the background of the main problem—ensuring the physical survival of their peoples and their countries. Consequently the threats of international terrorism, the transnational drug mafia, and even ecological catastrophe, all of which have become more acute in literally the last two to three years, are in part the price of failing to attend to those "maladies" in the past when the "poisonous snakes" were multiplying and growing in the shadow of the "big dragon." On the other hand, in an era in which we are bidding farewell to universal, global confrontation between the two superpowers and, at the same time, the "two worlds," it is obvious that we simply have more time and opportunity now to turn our gaze toward the other dangers awaiting us—in addition to nuclear war.

Meanwhile it cannot be said that no one today believes in the possibility of such a war any more. Rather people doubt that it would be global in character, but a nuclear conflict on a regional scale or a small and despicable act of provocation using perhaps one or several nuclear devices [yadernyy boyepripas] is not being discounted, in any event, not by the analysts from CIA headquarters. Hence greater attention is being paid now than in past to the prospects of the proliferation of nuclear and other types of weapons of mass destruction among third countries and also, of course, to states which already have the relevant potential.

There is another headache for the politicians, the military, and the intelligence people—namely, regional and, in particular, interethnic conflicts, those slowly smoldering embers which at any moment could produce the flames of a "real" and "big" war. Take the Karabakh conflict. It is not impossible that Turkey will become embroiled in it next, but Turkey is a NATO country and a U.S. ally. Consequently the Karabakh problem should be in the sphere of attention of U.S. intelligence. Not to mention the Yugoslav problem, the Near East problem, the contradictions between the Korean states... There are plenty of unresolved and unsettled disputes. They will not necessarily develop into an open military confrontation but the potential for tension still exists. Such troublespots are constantly increasing in number. Furthermore they are increasing not so much on ideological grounds, as before, but on ethnic—national, religious, and other—grounds.

International terrorism has also developed from being a private concern of the special services mentioned at best in specialized reports and is being elevated to the rank of a major political factor. Especially if you bear in mind that the expression "state terrorism" took root in the United States and was often used there to mean the most varied form of activity by regimes that Washington disliked. However, international terrorism even in its classical sense cost 93 lives and left 636 people injured last year alone, according to the CIA chief's statistics. Perhaps that is less than the number who die in road accidents but it should not be forgotten that the victims of terrorist acts are most often prominent politicians and sometimes key state figures. The CIA counts Iran, Iraq, Sudan, Libya, and Syria among the countries which, in Washington's opinion, are encouraging international terrorism. The U.S. intelligence department's black list also includes Cuba, North Korea, and Algeria.

Under President Clinton the thesis of the need to ensure America's economic security is being put forward with increasing persistence. This also includes protecting the interests of U.S. companies in international markets and countering foreign countries' efforts at economic espionage. In addition, the new leadership is offering economic information for sale to interested firms. In this way, evidently, they intend to compensate to some extent for the reduction in appropriations for intelligence activity from the state budget.

Meanwhile, such reductions will surely be cosmetic only. In reality the size of the intelligence budget has remained almost unchanged. According to the estimates, appropriations for the next fiscal year will be $28 billion-$29 billion. What about Clinton's promised reductions ($7 billion over the four years of his presidency)? But the whole world is changing before our eyes, he replies. The situation remains unclear, contradictory, and consequently dangerous, even if only potentially. Therefore, keep your ears and eyes wide open. If that is not enough, add space, electronic, and radio technical intelligence facilities. One space intelligence satellite alone costs between $500 million and $2 billion. Is that a lot? Yes. But such satellites, Woolsey said recently, were the United States' main and invaluable source of information about the scale of the Chernobyl disaster or, for example, the character of Iraq's military preparations on the eve of the combat operations in the Persian Gulf region. And probably on many other events about which the CIA chief is saying nothing for the time being...

The areas I have listed are just part of the CIA's present-day concerns, but it is clear that there is no less work facing the present-day "snake catchers" than there was facing yesterday's "dragon hunters." Thus the CIA is at work even though the cold war era which effectively spawned it has ended.

## Program Examines Clinton's First 100 Days

*LD0405153093*

[Editorial Report] Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian at 0840 GMT on 4 May carries a 42-minute program on President Clinton's first 100 days in office, presented by Vladimir Sukhoy. The program begins with a background feature on previous U.S. presidents and goes on to include opinion and comment from various studio guests.

Over video of the inauguration, Sukhoy says out that Clinton is still learning the job, although preliminary results could be summed up.

Serge Shtetman, THE NEW YORK TIMES bureau chief in Moscow, who is interviewed, gives a positive assessment of the President's readiness to listen and learn, as was illustrated at the Vancouver meeting with Yeltsin.

Aleksandr Lutpyanskiy, of NOVOYE VREMYA, says that the way in which Clinton entered the White House is the most interesting lesson for observers so far. He talked in general terms about the abilities required of a person to run a region and a country.

Sukhoy presents a biography of Clinton, including film of his meeting with President Kennedy as a child, concentrating on his achievements as governor of Arkansas in education and employment policy. He is undoubtedly a capable person who emerged unscathed from a scandal concerning another woman, he notes. Sukhoy notes that Clinton advocates equal opportunities, including for gay personnel in the armed forces, and has the values typical of the generation known as "baby boomers."

Next, Shtetman talks about the new generation coming in to power with fresh enthusiasm, a "president for the new age." Sukhoy takes up the theme, using film of Clinton playing the saxophone on television. The man has humor and enjoys sport, he says, adding that he has been active in his local church for years.

Sukhoy explains that Clinton's stance is that the country has to face up to reality, particularly in the economy. He stands to inherit from Bush's policy some economic growth and he brings his laser-sharp mind to the issues, as shown when he presented his economic program to Congress. Sukhoy explains some aspects of the program. Sukhoy adds that Clinton, however, has failed to keep some promises he made during the election campaign and has denied that he ever made some of these.

Sukhoy goes on to say that Clinton has not filled all the government posts he needs to yet. Far fewer people have come from his home state to take up government jobs in Washington than is customary. He has broad goals, but so far does not have detailed programs and funding to pursue these. Although at the 100-day in office mark Clinton has the lowest popularity rating of any president in the past 20 years after their first 100 days, a large proportion of the public still has high expectations of him.

Next, political observer Valentin Zorin recalls Roosevelt's 1933 program for recovery, which took 10 years to take effect, and points out that little can be expected of 100 days in office in 1993. He states:

"It is perfectly possible to destroy something in 100 days, but of course it is not possible to create something of substance, something constructive and lasting in 100 days or even 500 days. Approaching its actions from the point of view that this is a normal government which is carrying on from its predecessor and continuing its work, then of course something has been done, particularly in the field of foreign policy, specifically in the area of U.S.-Russian relations, as illustrated convincingly in Vancouver.

"In domestic policy, plans have been published for stepping up state intervention in the economy, which is typical of a Democratic Party administration, and for tightening the screw of taxation. Of course, all these are real steps, but if one approaches these 100 days from the other side, the picture is considerably less bright.

"In point of fact, Bill Clinton's government is effectively the first government since the end of the Cold War. Many doctrines, many concepts, and many views of the past decades have become obsolete. The United States has found itself in a new world in terms of its allies, too. It is being squeezed, and noticeably, in a number of important directions by Japan and Germany and Britain. The United States is to a certain extent losing its position as the indisputable leader. Suffice it to say that for the first time in its history America has turned from being a creditor country into a debtor country—it owes foreign banks and corporations more than $400 billion. The country has a huge domestic debt. All this demands not only some kind of specific individual steps, but also the creation of a completely new foreign and domestic political strategy, very profound and far-reaching changes.

"I have to note that in these first 100 days Washington has so far done nothing in this area. And also that it will, of course, take considerably longer than the notorious 100 days for it to become clear whether the political and intellectual potential of the present Washington administration is equal to the enormous tasks facing the U.S. state today."

Shtetman says that Clinton needs at least a year before results could be judged.

Sukhoy turns to Clinton's efforts in foreign policy over the past seven weeks. After the Vancouver meeting with Yeltsin, Clinton paid particular attention to developments in Russia, he says. Video shows Clinton and Yeltsin walking among the crowds.

IZVESTIYA observer Stanislav Kondrashov, who is interviewed about Clinton's foreign policy performance so far with respect to Russia, says:

"It so happened that Clinton's 100 days fell entirely within the weeks and months of the most acute Russian political crisis. When a country is either rushing into the abyss or—an optimistic view—standing on the very edge of the abyss, of course, the task of making the U.S. economy healthier is not the most important, even if this was what the new U.S. President was elected for.

"The foreign policy aspects of Clinton's 100 days are another matter. To some extent they concern Russia, although all the same there is less interest than a year ago, when George Bush granted aid to Russia under Yeltsin, and than two or three years ago, when he granted

aid to Russia under Gorbachev. Neither U.S. aid nor Western aid taken together can drastically alter Russia's circumstances. That is clear. And at the outset Clinton had to convince the Russians all over again that this aid could after all be useful. As we know, he tackled this task in Vancouver and then in Tokyo, where under his influence, if not pressure, the Big Seven ministers brought forth a mixed package worth a total of $43 billion.

"That Clinton is backing Yeltsin is one of the things evident from the 100 days. He persuaded the other Western leaders, including the vacillating Japanese leader Miyazawa, to make up their minds. On the one hand, in Clinton's opinion Yeltsin is the best hope for the Russian reforms. On the other hand, as he once put it, Yeltsin must be supported because—and I quote Clinton—he reflects the ideals and interests of our country, that is, the United States, and our, that is, the American, way of life.

"To many Russian ears this testimonial given by the U.S. President about the president of Russia will sound shocking. But it is intended for U.S. ears. Translated into the pragmatic language of the dollar, it means that partnership with Russia will be cheaper for the United States than a renewal of rivalry and that the prospect of partnership under Yeltsin looks better than should his opponents in Moscow gain the upper hand.

"Is there not some demonization of the opposition to Yeltsin on the part of the United States? In my view, there is. And it arose as a sign of Washington's solidarity with the Russian democrats. This is a two-edged sword, because it serves to polarize and radicalize Russian society and extreme radicals on both sides need to hate their enemy, which is both at home and abroad.

"Moreover, if we look at Washington's official stance, it is not so unambiguous and clear-cut. Yes, there was support for Yeltsin prior to the referendum, but there is a broader context for tomorrow and the day after. This is evident from the recent speech in Congress by Strobe Talbott, once a journalist and now the chief adviser on Russia to the U.S. President and Secretary of State Christopher. This is what Talbott noted, in part: Many Russians associate the reforms with hardships, he said, and the Yeltsin reformers have to create a broader base for their policy or they will find themselves, in Talbott's words, endangered.

"In Talbott's opinion, Russia's struggle will last for decades. The United States must, and I quote, set itself aims so that ultimately it supports not any one leader or any one leadership but a continuing process which could outlive political and economic failures, because these will inevitably arise in the future.

"All in all, a process of drawing up a new, optimum policy is going on in both countries. In Moscow, according to the Russian custom, they have sped from one extreme to the other: from the recent demonization of the United States to, so to speak, making an angel of it. Now we have to decide more accurately and more rapidly on our concept of the national interest of the new country that is Russia in a new world and identify the parameters of a realistic foreign policy.

"In Washington, although the situation is much better there and the task somewhat easier, a foreign policy line is now being established not only for 100 days but for all Clinton's four years."

Next, Sukhoy reminds viewers of Clinton's immediate foreign policy objectives worldwide: clarifying U.S. policy on Iraq, acting more decisively on Bosnia, increasing specific financial aid to Russia, and lifting the ban on Haitian refugees entering the United States. Clinton likes to be well briefed for meetings with foreign statesmen and involve his advisers to the full. When he speaks, he is briefed in outline and prefers to speak for himself on the details. Against expectations, the Clinton administation has not preached neo-isolationism and concentrated on domestic affairs. He has made it clear that he wants to strengthen America's position in the world community, and in the United Nations and other world organizations.

Sukhoy adds that the atmosphere has changed in the White House under the first post-Cold War president: the Canadian prime minister first gift to Clinton was a jazz CD, he says. The background of this generation is the Beatles and demonstrating against the Vietnam war. At the same time, respect is shown to elders, as when he met with Mitterrand. At present, Clinton is conducting himself more like a governor of a very big state than a major geo-politician, he states.

Lutpyanskiy comes in to point out that as long as it is not dictated in a high-handed way, there is a lot to learn for other countries from the U.S. way of life, but it need not be transposed wholesale onto others.

He says that much is being said about Hillary Clinton in Washington. She has an important role in the administration, a sharp contrast to Barbara Bush, he adds. He concludes that, in the new post-Cold War era, we "look forward with hope, looking back on Bill Clinton's first 100 days."

## PRAVDA Notes Americans' Dissatisfaction

*PM0405101593 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 May 93 p 3*

[Vladislav Drobkov report: "B. Clinton's 100 Days"]

[Text] Washington, 3 May—The rich and the fortunate also pay—for their mistakes, for the voters' disappointed hopes, for their inability to control their opponents, for the unforeseen turns of fortune. Last week William Jefferson Clinton, 42d U.S. President, completed his first 100 days in the White House with a mark of C+, the lowest mark for the same period out of those earned by the previous nine U.S. presidents. The latest opinion

polls testify that the overwhelming majority of Americans are dissatisfied with the beginning of the new President's rule.

What lies behind this sharp drop of the popularity of this young and charming politician, who took up office as leader of the world's leading power three months ago?

The answer to this question is unbelievably simple. The Americans cannot stand people breaking their promises.

Indeed, Bill Clinton has already retreated on several occasions—either through pressure of circumstances or through inability to cope with political opponents—from his election campaign pledges. Having promised to levy additional taxes only on the very rich, he raised the tax burden of middle-class Americans. Having promised easy access to the United States for Haitian refugees, he essentially returned to the prohibitive policy applied against them by the Republican Bush. Having assured homosexuals that all restrictions against them would be lifted, including the ban against them in military service, Clinton has now been forced to postpone this issue until some time in the future.

Serious criticism has also been prompted by some of the new administration's foreign policy steps. For example, many local analysts accuse Clinton of being excessively carried away by the problems of Bosnia and Russia to the detriment of domestic U.S. problems.

But the main area where the new President has obviously failed is the restoration of the U.S. economy's activeness.

In the observers' opinion, Clinton—in his desire to please public moods and prevailing tendencies—has shown a certain self-confidence and has underestimated the opposition's strength and potential.

The most powerful blow to the President's popularity was dealt by his actions to raise taxes—only 34 percent of Americans approve of them.

Clinton had promised that the first 100 days of his rule would become "the most productive period in the modern history" of the United States. Alas, this promise of his has failed to come true.

The following conclusion naturally comes to mind: In order to remedy the state of affairs, Clinton will certainly not take the path of expanding U.S. aid for Russia. All the multimillion bills of exchange issued by Washington to Yeltsin on the security of the 25 April referendum are already being questioned both by the U.S. Congress and by the country's public opinion. One must be very naive to seriously bank on massive aid for Moscow from across the ocean.

## Easing of U.S. Grain Supply Terms Achieved

*PM0405145193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 May 93 First Edition pp 1,3*

[Aleksandr Shalnev report: "Washington Eases Aid Conditions. Requirement on Obligatory Chartering of U.S. Ships to Supply Food to Russia Removed"]

[Text] Washington—Russia has managed to reach agreement with the United States on a significant revision of the conditions on supplies of food to us on the basis of a program which was announced at the beginning of April in Vancouver at the meeting between Presidents Yeltsin and Clinton. As a result, we are being given the possibility of spending the $700 million which have been allocated to us for the purchase of grain and other American agricultural produce far more productively and with far greater benefit to ourselves.

The original conditions, which were based on existing U.S. laws on aid to foreign states, were such that we would have to spend the lion's share of these credits on the extremely expensive chartering of American ships which would supply the grain to us.

The specific details of the agreement reached in Washington between Vice Premier Shokhin and U.S. Agriculture Secretary Espy remain as yet strictly confidential, as the U.S. department has yet to agree them with Congress. But, as news sources have made known, the Americans agreed in particular to change the structure and content of the supplies in such a way that Russia will be able to make far more active use of either its own ships or the ships of third countries, which charge several times less for chartering than American ship owners.

For example: As I was told, the Americans do not have enough ships adapted for the transportation of corn. By increasing the proportion of corn as compared with the total volume of supplies, we obtain entirely valid grounds to distance ourselves from the American laws somewhat and place the emphasis on our own resources or on those of third countries.

Furthermore, Washington has decided to pay for part of the cost of chartering the American ships itself.

Of course, the key question is now the way Congress will relate to this deal, and whether it will not protest the "infringement" of American interests, although if you work it out, it was Russian interests that were being infringed first and foremost: We would have to throw away hundreds of millions of dollars on chartering ships and, naturally, reduce purchases of agricultural output by the corresponding sum. Of course we have to bear in mind that although the agreement has been reached, our expenditure on chartering will nevertheless be very significant indeed.

The details will be announced at a press conference which Aleksandr Shokhin, who headed our delegation at the spring session of leading organs of the IMF and the World Bank in Washington, will hold in Moscow this

week. The delegation was rather truncated: Against expectations—and protocol—Russian Vice Premier Boris Fedorov and Central Bank Chairman Viktor Gerashchenko did not arrive.

The situation in Russia—both economic and political—was one of the key points on the session's agenda, and the subject of a series of resolutions. The IMF and the Bank enthusiastically welcomed the results of the recent referendum, expressed the well-founded hope that the reforms would be successful, and emphasized their support for the reform process.

But, as before, the support was tied to specific conditions. According to the very frank observation made by Lewis Preston, the president of the Bank, "promises of aid are not actual aid... The overcoming of the political and constitutional crisis in Russia will have a very significant effect on what exactly the actual aid to Russia will look like... Some of the promised loans will not be granted if the macroeconomic situati does not improve."

As THE WASHINGTON POST writes, Aleksandr Shokhin "assured the participants in the meeting that the Russian Government will achieve the aims which the IMF has set." He specifically promised that by the end of the year, the rate of inflation will fall to 5.5 percent, and the budget deficit to 5 percent of GNP.

I was told that a high-level delegation from the Fund is setting off for Moscow this week in order to analyze the Russian Government's economic program once again, and estimate how realistic this program is. As I understood from conversations with high-ranking officials from the Fund and the Bank, feelings there are reasonably optimistic, although there are also fairly big doubts as to how the Central Bank will operate and how the Russian president intends to carry out all the promises which he gave out on the eve of the referendum. Nevertheless, it is very indicative that Michel Camdessus, the managing director of the Fund, has already stated that he is prepared to allocate to Russia, in June at the latest, the first half of the 3-billion [currency unspecified] loan which was promised to us within the framework of a qualitatively new program of aid to countries undergoing "system transformations."

At the same time, certain assessments of the situation in Russia made at the session are surprising: For example, one of the leaders of the department in the Fund which deals with Russian matters proposed that, as part of the fight against hyperinflation, the Central Bank should bring discount rates into line with inflation, that is, as London's FINANCIAL TIMES noted, to raise them a minimum of tenfold. As I understand it, he is precisely the official who is heading the IMF delegation that arrives in Moscow this week.

## U.S. Unit in Japan Tracking Russian Satellites

*LD0405130093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1147 GMT 4 May 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Varlamov]

[Text] Tokyo May 4 TASS—U.S. space defence forces have deployed a special-purpose electronic reconnaissance unit to track satellites at the Misawa air base in Aomori Prefecture (Honshu Island), Japan's most northern American military facility. This was confirmed at a request of the ITAR-TASS correspondent by Lieutenant Colonel Steven Backman, officer on duty at the base.

His official reply in writing can be virtually regarded as an indirect confirmation that the activities of the new unit, according to Japanese data, are directed primarily against Russian satellites and include the interception and study of telemetric communications signals transmitted by them.

The document has it that the principal mission of the unit from among the 3rd Surveillance Squadron (the 73rd Group of the Military Space Command of the U.S. Air Force with headquarters at Falcon air base in Colorado) is to detect, track, identify and systematise all manmade space objects in low-earth orbits.

## Efforts To Arrange Yeltsin Japan Visit Continue

*PM0405155393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 May 93 First Edition p 3*

[Sergey Agafonov report: "News Blackout on Tokyo Visit"]

[Text] Tokyo—The tumultuous and still unpredictable events in Russia intrigue the Japanese no less than the rest of the world. But Tokyo, apart from its purely "operational" interest in the facts and circumstances of Russian reality, also has an extra "immediate" reason—the question of B. Yeltsin's visit to Japan, which is currently of particular interest to local analysts.

Last year's calling off of Yeltsin's trip to Tokyo has already become a political problem in itself. Last year's September shock, caused by the cancellation of the visit, has noticeably complicated the bilateral dialogue, adding a new complexity to the many that existed already. The sides spent more than six months unsuccessfully puzzling over a solution, until Yeltsin stated in April that he was ready to go to Japan in May.

The Russian initiative came as a complete surprise to the Japanese, but it was not so much a diplomatic initiative as a logical reaction to a number of substantive shifts in the Japanese stance with regard to Russia—Tokyo has noticeably changed its tune on the territorial problem, come out in support of Russian reform, and participated most effectively in the G-7 measures on the "Russian question," amending as a result the well-known principle

of linking politics and economics in the dialogue with Moscow, and making a number of initiatives on economic aid to Russia.

Yeltsin's decision to respond to these changes with a visit of his own was not expected by the Japanese, but the diplomatic machine quickly went into action, and the Japanese—working on the basis of Russian wishes—proposed that the visit go ahead 25-27 May. The was offer brought to Moscow by Russian Minister Kozyrev, who had been taking part in the Tokyo meeting of G-7 ministers in mid-April, but no official answer was received before the referendum, which once again made Tokyo nervous and uncertain.

It seems as though last week the uncertainty was resolved—in a rather intriguing way and in the context of a complete news blackout on comment on bilateral affairs—when Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Kunadze arrived secretly in the Japanese capital and held intensive talks with his Japanese colleagues for several days, avoiding meeting with reporters. The Japanese Foreign Ministry, which had initially not even admitted that Kunadze was in Tokyo, subsequently stated that the deputy minister responsible for Russo-Japanese relations had flown in not to meet with Japanese officials but for consultations with... the Russian Embassy in Japan. And it was only near the end of the secret round of talks that the Japanese informed the press that, because of the great sensitivity of the subjects discussed, no comments on the Russo-Japanese diplomatic contacts would be issued. As representatives of the Japanese Foreign Ministry stated, "we should keep quiet until Yeltsin gets off the plane in Tokyo... Bilateral relations would be seriously damaged if the summit fell through again."

Tokyo, though, is a small town, and that is why some information about the talks has seeped through from Japanese sources even with the news blackout. Thus, it is being said, in particular, that the timetable for B. Yeltsin's visit has already been virtually agreed behind closed doors on the basis of Japanese suggestions. Work is currently being done on the package of final documents which will crown the visit, and the wrangling—couched in diplomatic language—over the form in which the notorious territorial question will be addressed in the summit talks continues. The Japanese are particularly worried about the problem of having a "politically positive outcome" for a territorial wrangle which patently does not promise any major breakthroughs.

The Russian side is avoiding any commitments or promises, but, judging by everything, certain gestures will be made during the president's visit—in particular, recognition of the "historic errors" on the problem of Japanese prisoners of war and the Soviet Union's violation of the neutrality pact with Japan in 1945 is possible in some form or other. We can also expect a declaration appealing for the UN Charter to remove any mention of hostile powers and an appeal in general terms for all disputes—including border disputes—to be resolved as the bilateral dialogue develops.

Incidentally, it is already known that the current round of talks has failed to solve all the problems surrounding the visit, and that Japanese Deputy Foreign Minister Saito will soon leave for Moscow to continue the preparations. Apart from this, an interim meeting on neutral turf is planned between the heads of the Russian and Japanese Foreign Ministries. It is to be hoped that the planned trip to Tokyo will remain unchanged in our president's diplomatic schedule and that the news blackout will be conducive to this.

## Hopes for Visit 'Dwindling'

*PM0505132793 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 5 May 93 p 3*

[Nikolay Tsvetkov report: "If There is To Be No Visit, So Be It"]

[Text] Tokyo—As the date announced by the Russian side as an acceptable option for Boris Yeltsin's visit to Tokyo approaches—and that is 25-27 May, as we all know—in Japan the hopes that this option will work are gradually dwindling. Preparations for the visit to Tokyo are under way, of course, but more out of inertia than out of any real desire. Very soon there will be working meetings between the deputy foreign ministers, although they are hardly going to reach consensus on a basis that excludes the [Kuril] islands. Moscow is sending one signal after another: The agenda of the visit should include only those things which do not cause disagreements; let us discuss the South Kuril Islands another time.

To this the Japanese side notes that visits by top officials from the neighboring country do not happen all that often. In actual fact there has only been one in history—by USSR President Gorbachev—if you discount the trip by Nikolay Romanov a century ago, but that was before he succeeded to the throne. So there is no reason to expect that "another time" to be soon. It is of course possible, although not easy, to come up with another topic to fill the three days of talks, one which would be both pleasant and equally trivial. There was a very great deal of this trivia two years ago during the first "historic" visit—along the lines of an agreement on migratory birds.

Hence the conclusion recently by a high-ranking representative of the Japanese Foreign Ministry: Why set a date for the visit if its aim has still not been defined? The pessimism is increased by the news that the advance party due to arrive in Tokyo 17-18 May to prepare for the visit will not arrive then.

## New Arrangements for Financing Japanese Aid

*PM0405123193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Apr 93 First Edition p 7*

[Report by Sergey Agafonov: "Crown Prince's Marriage Will Help Russian Reforms"]

[Text] Tokyo—An interesting report has appeared in Tokyo concerning the implementation of the commitments Japan has made to render economic assistance to Russian reforms. It is a case not of new plans for bilateral cooperation but of channels for financing Japanese initiatives put forward during the recent meeting of G-7 ministers in the Japanese capital.

As we know, Japan gave Russia a promise at ministerial level of economic aid in various forms to a total sum of $1.82 billion. The lion's share of this sum ($1.5 billion) has been earmarked for insurance for Japanese companies' trade operations with Russia and export credits which, as they are shaped, will be covered by government-guaranteed bank loans. The remaining $320 million, which is to be procured, is another matter.

According to a report which has appeared these millions will be included in the government's additional budget request for the current fiscal year. The piquancy of the situation, however, is that the reserve fund is not adequate for the Russian measures, since it also has to cover the tax cut planned by the government. It is here that the marriage of Crown Prince Naruhito, the heir to the Japanese thrown, is coming to our aid...

For this major event in the country's life not only is a nationwide holiday being declared and an extensive amnesty announced, but specially minted gold and silver coins are being put into circulation. The revenue from their sale will help finance Japanese programs of economic aid to the Russian democratic cause.

Incidentally, since we are talking of money it is worth noting an important event in Russian-Japanese economic relations: Russia has made the first payments on debts to Japanese trading companies—$5.2 million has been paid in interest on export credits taken out back in the days of the USSR.

The credits were issued for various projects by nine Japanese commercial companies whose partners went into self-liquidation after the collapse of the Union, but their debts remained. After lengthy procedures a kind of collective debt was calculated which has been submitted to the Russian authorities. This system has worked, and payments of the interest were made on schedule, which gave rise to serious relief close to exultation among Japanese business circles.

It is true that the sum total of our debts to the Japanese under trade operations is $1.36 billion and is still ahead, as the saying goes. But a good example is nonetheless the main thing.

## Fyodorov Meets Portuguese Foreign Minister

*LD0505113493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1101 GMT 5 May 93*

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow, May 5 (TASS)—The experience of Portugal that passed on from dictatorship to a market economy through the stage of social orientation may be useful for Russia. Russian Deputy Prime Minister Boris Fyodorov said this to ITAR-TASS after a meeting on Wednesday [5 May] with Portuguese Foreign Minister Jose Manual Durao Barroso.

It was said at the meeting that there is a need to establish direct contacts between the two countries' finance ministries and central banks. The sides also mentioned settling payments that are not in the competence of the Paris Financial Club by opening a line of credits. Russia runs a debt of some 20 million dollars to Portuguese commercial firms under agreements concluded by foreign trade organisations.

In a brief interview with ITAR-TASS, the Portuguese foreign minister said that a treaty on political relations between the two countries that is planned to be signed when Portuguese Prime Minister Anibal Antonio Cavaco Silva visits Moscow will create conditions for the development of relations in the economic, trade, cultural and political areas. The minister said an agreement on mutual guarantee of investment is virtually ready for the signing. The Portuguese prime minister will be accompanied on the visit by a large group of business people interested in the development of relations with Russia.

Regarding the results of the referendum, the Portuguese foreign minister said that this is Russia's internal affair, but that everything taking place in Russia has consequences for Europe and the whole world. "Respecting Russia's sovereignty, we cannot but express satisfaction with the democratic choice of the Russian people aimed at the continuation of reforms and integration into the world economic system," he said.

The Portuguese foreign minister leaves Moscow on Wednesday.

## Silva Visit, Angola Discussed

*LD0505125793 Lisbon Radio Renascenca in Portuguese to Europe 1030 GMT 5 May 93*

[Text] Foreign Minister Durao Barroso is on the last day of his official visit to Russia to prepare a June visit by Portuguese Prime Minister Cavaco Silva, when Portugal and Russia are to sign a cooperation and friendship accord.

[Begin Barroso recording] I agreed with Minister Kozyrev that during the prime minister's visit a friendship and cooperation treaty will be signed. This will be the general legal framework for our political, economic,

and cultural relations. Portugal is highly interested in developing relations with Russia, a democratic Russia which is currently making major efforts to complete its democratization and establish a market economy. I believe the prime minister's visit will be an important political occasion, as well as the occasion to obtain concrete economic results. [end recording]

One of the key points of Durao Barroso's discussions with the Russian authorities was the situation in Angola. Durao Barroso made a point of stressing that the observers are doing their utmost but the last word rests with the Angolans.

[Begin Barroso recording] We believe it is very important to reach an agreement, we believe a negotiated solution is the only solution, and we feel there is no military solution to the conflict. Portugal, together with the other observers, namely Russia and the United States, and obviously the United Nations, will continue to do its utmost with a view to an agreement, but in any case, the main responsibility falls on the warring sides. It is the Angolans themselves who have to decide whether they want to live in peace or whether they want to continue in the current situation of suffering and hopelessness. [end recording]

## Grachev, French Navy Chief of Staff Hold Talks

*PM0505094593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 May 93 p 3*

[ITAR-TASS report: "Talk Held"]

[Text] Moscow, 4 May—Russ.an Federation Defense Minister Army General Pavel Grachev has received Admiral Alain Coatanea, chief of staff of the French Navy, who is in Moscow on an official visit. During the talk, which passed in a warm, friendly atmosphere, there was a discussion of questions of mutual interest.

The Russian Federation Defense Ministry press office reported that Pierre Morel, French ambassador to the Russian Federation, took part in the talk.

## Background to Foreign Ministry Protest to Georgia

*MK0405111193 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 13, 4 May 93 (Signed to Press 3 May) p 3*

[Leonid Velekhov report: "Ten Russians for Each Georgian. Russia Concerned Over Plight of Russians in Sukhumi"]

[Text] [Article includes the following boxed passage]

### Statement by the Foreign Ministry of the Russian Federation

Recently the situation of the Russian-speaking population living in the city of Sukhumi has badly deteriorated. Unlawful acts against Russian servicemen and their family members have been on the increase. Violence and even murders, arrests, and insults, offenses against honor and dignity, and open discrimination against Russians appear to have been perpetrated on a systematic scale. Despite repeated protests by the Russian side, the Georgian authorities have failed to take any steps to stop these activities.

What is arousing particular concern is the fact that after yet another heightening of tensions during the armed confrontation around Sukhumi, the city's authorities have launched a campaign to confiscate documents from the residents of Russian, Armenian, and Greek origin, thus making it impossible for them to leave the conflict area and effectively turning them into hostages. The Russian Foreign Ministry has obtained information showing that the special services of the Republic of Georgia are stepping up provocative activities with respect to the Russian-speaking population.

Regarding Russian servicemen, recently the local military authorities have threatened them continuously with physical reprisals and confiscation of their property. Thus, the aim pursued by certain political forces in Georgia of trying to create intolerable conditions for the servicemen of the Russian Armed Forces and their family members is completely evident.

The Foreign Ministry of the Russian Federation makes a decisive protest in connection with the actions against Russian citizens, which can be qualified as the flagrant trampling underfoot of fundamental human rights. In this regard, the Foreign Ministry plans to notify the United Nations and the CSCE.

The Russian side reserves the right to take all requisite measures to protect the lives, honor, and dignity of its citizens residing in the territory of Georgia. [end of Foreign Ministry statement]

The Foreign Ministry's 29 April statement was made public at a briefing held at the Foreign Ministry press center on 30 April. In addition to the diplomatic demarche, specific facts were highlighted at the briefing confirming that the Russian-speaking population and Russian servicemen have been persecuted by the Georgian authorities. According to available reports, last year alone 46 Russian servicemen were killed and over 100 wounded in Georgia, 6,388 military facilities were targets of armed attacks, and over 100 depots, fuel and lubricants storage facilities, and so forth were seized.

Mentioned among the most recent incidents was the murder of Airborne Troops Battalion Major Yu.V. Voblikov which, according to eyewitnesses, was perpetrated by Georgian servicemen on 6 April.

On 31 March, V.S. Aseyev, a civilian employed by the Russian Armed Forces, was shot dead through the front door of his own apartment by Georgian servicemen.

From 28 March to 1 April, mass raids were carried out in a number of districts in Sukhumi to identify, on the basis of their passports, residents of Russian and Armenian

origin. The detainees were beaten up and later forced to dig trenches and remove corpses from the line of military confrontation. Afterward those aged 55 years and over were released and the rest were confined to barracks. Documents of all those detained in the raids were confiscated, so they were in effect taken hostage, being unable to leave the conflict area.

The escalation of violence is in full swing, and threats are heard from Georgian servicemen that "10 Russians will be executed by firing squad for each Georgian killed in the Abkhaz conflict."

All this information, those speaking at the briefing said, was conveyed to Mr. Shevardnadze and Georgian Foreign Minister Chikvaidze. A total of eight verbal notes have been sent via the Russian Foreign Ministry and the Russian Embassy in Tbilisi to the Georgian Foreign Ministry citing specific incidents and demanding that they be investigated. The Russian Foreign Ministry and its officials made official statements to that effect on 15 and 17 December 1992, 25 February, 17 March, and 29 April of this year. However, no action has been taken by the Georgian authorities in response to Foreign Ministry demarches, which, in the Russian Foreign Ministry's view, confirms a complete lack of law and order regarding Russian troops in Georgia and citizens of the Russian Federation, and also the fact that by their inaction the Georgian law-enforcement agencies are giving a free hand to the extremist nationalistic forces and prompting them to perpetrate new crimes.

## Moscow, Warsaw Sign Friendship Treaty

*LD0405200393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1929 GMT 4 May 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Potemkin]

[Text] Warsaw May 4 TASS—A Moscow-Warsaw Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation is aimed to fully use possibilities of cooperation between the two countries' capitals, which open up thanks to crucial political and economic changes in Russia and Poland.

The treaty signed today by Moscow Mayor Yuriy Luzhkov and Warsaw President Stanislaw Vyganowski provides for exchange of opinion in city economy management, expansion of cultural and tourist relations, economic cooperation and trade.

A specific article of the treaty dwells on the intention of the Moscow and Warsaw authorities to upkeep direct cooperation not only between public organizations of the two cities, but also between various enterprises. The Moscow mayor stressed the significance of the treaty is its opening of a possibility to encourage the development of cooperation between new business structures, recently created in the two countries and cities.

The Warsaw president described the treaty as another important step in resumption of Moscow-Warsaw cooperation on a new basis. Warsaw is very interested in cooperation with Moscow, the main city of a neighbouring state, which has a huge economic potential, he said. In his opinion, the exchange of opinion between the Moscow and Warsaw delegations on the situation in the two cities and structure of city self-government bodies was very useful.

## Filatov Meets With UN Legal Experts

*LD0405161493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1401 GMT 4 May 93*

[Text] Moscow May 4 TASS—Head of the Russian president staff Sergey Filatov met a group of U.N. legal experts headed by the U.N. Vienna office director-general at Kremlin today.

The sides discussed joint reorganization of the Russian legal procedure and bringing it in correspondence with democratic principles of human rights protection, used by the international community.

A draft law to the effect has been adopted in the first reading by the Russian Council of the Republic and is being discussed by the Council of Nationalities.

U.N. experts expressed their readiness to render material and information aid to Russia, after a proper consulting mechanism is created, to boost the legal reform in accordance with Russian national traditions.

## May Day Activities

### Further Reportage on May Day Events

#### Khasbulatov Addresses Nation

*LD0405182393 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1635 GMT 4 May 93*

[Address by Russian Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov; place not given—live]

[Text] Esteemed fellow citizens: As you know, acts of gross violence took place in Moscow on 1 May during a festive procession. As a result, many dozens of people received serious injuries. First of all, allow me to express condolences to all the victims of this tragedy—I stress, to all the victims, on both sides.

Much has already been said on television about what happened; preliminary, clearly one-sided assessments have been given. But I think that a really truthful analysis of what happened has not yet been heard and that we still cannot bring ourselves to call things by their right names. Let's face the truth: Nothing like what happened in Moscow on 1 May has happened in Moscow since the time of the Civil War. One should not diminish the scale of this tragedy. If we do not make serious efforts corresponding to the scale of this political situation, probably even a more awful thing may happen. An investigation of the tragic events is under way. The court, of course, will give a juridical assessment. It is, obviously, unbecoming for the supreme legislative body of power and for top officials to draw hasty conclusions. During all these past few days I and my colleagues in the Supreme Soviet have been conducting a careful analysis of what happened. As early as the evening of 1 May, on my instructions, a deputies' commission was set up to study the circumstances of this matter.

Today, it is our task to give a political assessment of what happened. Here I am obliged to return to what went before and, above all, to the referendum that has just taken place and the well-known four questions in that referendum. It might seem to political innocents that the whole problem was what answer would be given to the first two questions—that is, confidence in the president and in his policies. But, speaking long before the referendum, we warned society that those two questions would not have any legal significance. This was, in fact, confirmed subsequently by the actual Constitutional Court. Only the fourth question was of decisive significance. That was the question of the destiny of the Russian parliament, the destiny of Russian parliamentarianism as the basis of democracy. After all, our opponents had to overthrow the congress, convene a constituent meeting—or a constitutional assembly or the Soviet of the Federation—to frantically adopt a hasty constitution along Latin American lines, and switch from democracy to dictatorship, covering themselves with the fig-leaf of this pseudo-constitution.

At first, the referendum campaign, the drive against the Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet, started on two sides: the far left and the far right—and I have already spoken about that. At that time, people did not have time to ponder the information and psychological atmosphere in which the elections would be taking place, whether we would preserve Russia as an integral state, or whether its collapse might take place—like that of the Union.

The people, our voters, turned out to be wiser. They confirmed the legitimacy both of the president and of the people's deputies and enabled us to get down to real business. Were it not for the schism in society and the crisis in statehood, we could express satisfaction in the results of the referendum. We actually received the maximum possible in those conditions.

At the same time, let us say frankly: The referendum naturally weakened the state. That is a fact. In such conditions, radical reformers are in a hurry. They need to somehow overcome the constitutional barrier. It is a method familiar in history. Therefore, I shall say plainly: The bloody May Day battle in Moscow was obviously not accidental.

Incidentally, the opinion of the world public on this tragic event is being passed over in silence, but surely the event is unprecedented. I am shaken by the cynicism of the descriptions of the events. It is said that the conflict occurred between people of no fixed abode and the militia.

But it is sufficient to pick up the lists of the victims and who do we see? We see blue collar workers, white collar workers, pensioners, heads of commercial enterprises, physicians, members of the Academy of Sciences, students, children, officers, war veterans, and women of various ages. Perhaps all these are now persons of no fixed abode to some sections of our press and television, but for us they are compatriots. They are Russians who came for the traditional peaceful demonstration devoted to the international day of springtime and labor; although it must be noted at the same time that the peaceful demonstration took place away from Red Square, [repeats himself] away from Red Square.

In our country much is spoken of the experience of civilized countries. In France and Germany, for example, if there are no outrages or hooliganism, the police do not stop demonstrators even if an unsanctioned rally is involved. Even in that case, I stress, the police only ensure it is escorted, after which those guilty of the unsanctioned meeting are summoned and the police impose fines or some other form of judicial sanction.

But when people—a great number of people—are on the march, force is not used. It is not used against citizens who do not commit offenses. They are not detained so as not to provoke confrontations. Maybe it is worthwhile to study the experience of civilized countries and not line

up special purpose troops, who are needed in special circumstances, against peaceful demonstrators.

We have every reason to believe that what happened was a provocation that was prepared beforehand and, incidentally, by both sides—the Moscow authorities and the instigators of these clashes.

This is even more important because an attempt is being made to foist the blame not just on the Supreme Soviet, but also on the government in order to quietly carry out cadre reshuffles there needed by political radicals.

So, here is the question of an action confined entirely to Moscow. The city's executive authorities are its inspirers and organizers. By their actions they have artificially created, virtually out of nothing, a situation of confrontation that has led to bloodshed.

This is simply a disgraceful situation. When the entire world and all the civilized countries celebrate May Day as a day of spring and labor, what do we have? First, we have a leap-frog regarding decrees, instructions, and bans on holding a May Day rally. Then people are gripped in a vise and blocked on both sides, passions are whipped up deliberately, and matters are led to a strong-arm conflict.

I have already spoken about one of the tasks of those who staged the provocation. There is a second and more important reason for this. I want to speak frankly about it too. The second task of this provocation, it would seem, was to distract the forces of the procuracy, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the Ministry of Security from matters connected with corruption. This sort of ruse was played out in the old Soviet Union, starting with the events of Almaty in 1986, then Nagorno-Karabakh, Tbilisi, Baku, Fergana, Chisinau, and Dushanbe. Politics is just one side of the coin; there is another side as well—crime. I urge the bodies of law and order, despite the investigation into the events of 1 May, not to ease up on the intensiveness of their work on criminal matters linked with the corruption of officials, about which Vice President Rutskoy reported at the Supreme Soviet session. Those who committed these crimes must not get away without answering for them by hiding behind the screen of political confrontation that is now being thrust upon us. A false interpretation of what happened is being thrust upon society, as though on one side there is the nomenklatura-revanchist Supreme Soviet and on the other side angel-like reformers. But, in point of fact, things are quite different and much more complex, for on one side there is a broad alliance of anti-mafiosi forces of the most varied political orientation, and the other side are the mafiosi representatives of power and their high-ranking protectors.

This is the true arrangement of political forces, whatever things might seem to some people, and whatever some people might say about this. Therefore, what happened was a political provocation by forces lusting for dictatorship despite the results of the referendum. And at the same time, it is an attempt at mafiosi revenge and a desire by individuals playing at politics to get the public's attention. All this had its place on that fateful day.

There is also a third circumstance: the deliberate setting of the law and order bodies against the demonstrators, drawing the country's citizens into internecine, violent confrontation. I hope that by all our common efforts we shall manage to extinguish the confrontation caused by the referendum and by these events that, just as we predicted, caused a split in society and intensified contradictions in it. The Supreme Soviet will do everything in its power to extinguish social passions.

The fourth aspect of the tragedy is the moral side. Unfortunately, harshness and heartlessness is being imposed on society. All ethical and moral norms and compassion are being rejected. Cynicism is being inculcated. Our country, our citizens, do not want bloodshed. Bloodshed is desired by those who are striving to conceal the traces of dirty machinations, corruption, and robbery on the one hand, and by a handful of revanchists on the other, but we shall not allow them to do this. We shall not permit Russian boys, citizens of Russia, on the orders of corrupt municipal bosses and their high-ranking protectors, to beat up their own fathers who in the Great War defended the freedom and independence of our fatherland.

Esteemed fellow citizens: 9 May, the day we mark the Great Victory, will be a festive day, a day of national accord. We shall do everything to ensure this. Neither the Moscow authorities nor those who stand behind them will succeed in clouding this great festival. I call on the president and the government, to do everything possible on their part to facilitate national reconciliation and accord. As regards political prospects,—evidently this is something that worries our compatriots in the light of the recent tragic events—they appear as follows:

First, the Supreme Soviet and the Constitutional Commission, together with the subjects of the federation, will continue working on the Russian Constitution.

The congress, being the supreme authority elected by the people, will adopt it, with no haste or fuss, in the interests of the people themselves. The main idea of the new constitution will be to strengthen our state and ensure safety and human and civil rights. We will proceed from principles of statehood, rule-of-law, security, genuine democracy, and equality of all forms and types of property, including, of course, state property. But we will not allow a colonial-dictatorial version of the constitution with a new chief at the top to be dragged in—for we are a world power with a glorious history of thousands of years.

Second, we intend to carry out a broad process of consultations with our fellow-citizens, the subjects of the federation, trade-unions, public and political organizations, and forces and business circles in order to implement the idea of a broad political alliance of progressive forces, the idea of a party of a parliamentary majority, in order that parliament does not tremble with each

extremist manifestation or slogan-ridden call by odious individuals. We have not hindered, are not hindering, and have no intention of hindering, but we shall, together with the president, implement the economic reforms. That is why parliament supported the most decisive steps of the reform, ensuring a legal base for the reforms, and we have no right to allow anyone at all to identify the Russian parliament with revanchist forces.

If certain people wish to return to the times of dictatorship—something that the Supreme Soviet and the congress oppose—then a question arises: Who is really a revanchist in real terms?

Within the framework of constitutional powers, the president has the right to carry out a course of economic reforms, approved by the people and by the parliament. But he must realistically keep his promises and make for a healthier economy. However, irreversible processes in the course of the reform, losses of our resources—intellectual, technological, and industrial, as well as agrarian and demographic—are unacceptable. We have no right to allow this.

The congress, which has been entrusted by the people with the monitoring of the observance of the constitution and of laws, has the duty, together with the president, to comply with the will of the people. I would like to reiterate, esteemed compatriots, that the leadership of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation and the Russian People's Deputies condemn actions of extremist individuals who took part in the May Day festive procession in Moscow, as well as the inadequate response of the Moscow mayor's office, which brought about such tragic consequences. We will do our utmost to stop similar actions from repeating in our country. Thank you.

### Parliament Commission Meets

*LD0405174993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1730 GMT 4 May 93*

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow May 4 TASS—A meeting of the Russian Parliament commission, set up under an instruction of Parliament Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov to "investigate into reasons and circumstances of the use of force against participants in a peaceful demonstration on May 1, the Russian state holiday", was held here today.

The main aim of the commission is "to give moral and legal estimation to May 1 developments, without which a political estimation will be impossible", commission head Gennadiy Benov told ITAR-TASS.

"Without this we will not be able to give recommendations to the Supreme Soviet so that it prevents similar incidents in future." It does not matter to which party or department belong the victims, one cannot oppose people to people, he stressed.

In the deputy's opinion, the law on rallies and marches must be toughened and responsibility of rally organizers and holders must be revised. The provision of May 1 rallies, which lead to the abnormal quantity of traumas and troubles, "does not keep within the limits of regular society, not to mention a law-governed state".

The commission discussed the situation until midnight, but it is too early to speak of any results - they are collecting information. All documents adopted by the mayor's office and the Moscow City Council on the rally organization must be collected.

The meeting of the commission, which includes deputies of Russia, the Moscow City Council, the Leninskiy and Oktyabrskiy district councils, was attended by some rally participants, deputy head of the Moscow Interior Department Vitaliy Kiselev and head of the Moscow Main Health Care Department Deputy Anatoliy Solovyev.

Kiselev told the deputies he was the one to take the decision on blocking Leninskiy Avenue, since "movement along this route was banned and could create danger for pedestrians and cars". First ranks of the march participants "attacked the police, which was expected by no one". He said fire arms and gas were not used, there were only water guns "to cool the passions". All documents related to the riots have been passed over to the Procurator's Office, he said.

A total of 579 people, participants in the Gagarin Square developments, have turned for help to medical institutions, said Solovyev. The majority of them had "mechanic traumas, there were also four cut wounds". Such a number of victims "in a limited area has not been registered for 25 years, including August, 1991", he noted.

Thirty medical teams rendered assistance at the incident spot. Twenty seven police officers are in hospital, others are treated in polyclinics. Registration of riot victims was stopped at Moscow hospitals and polyclinics yesterday at 15:00 on Monday. There have been attempts of misinformation on victims, there were inquiries about "allegedly dead".

There was no loss of life, but the condition of Police Officer Tolokneyev is critical, said the official.

Member of the officers' union Yevgeniy Chernogrivko told the meeting, according to his information, "10,000 police and OMON [special purpose militia detachment] special police unit staffers were gathered in the rally area on May 1, as compared to 7,000 rally participants".

The commission head called "not to stir up passions and calmly analyse the situation" to objectively estimate actions of all sides.

### Parliament Commission Challenged

*LD0505124493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1110 GMT 5 May 93*

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow May 5—Russian parliament Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov did not have the authority to set up a parliamentary commission to investigate the May Day events in Moscow, deputy chairman of the parliamentary committee on legislation Boris Zolotukhin told ITAR-TASS on Wednesday [5 May]. "The chairman of the Supreme Soviet has once again violated the basic law of the Russian Federation", Zolotukhin said. "According to the Constitution, the chairman of the parliament does not have the powers to set up any commission, least of all to conduct this type of investigation", he added.

Zolotukhin, a lawyer, said that such commissions can only be set up at a joint meeting of parliament's chambers. "Therefore, the commission Ruslan Khasbulatov has set up should be dissolved at the first plenary meeting of the Supreme Soviet", Zolotukhin added.

"If the Supreme Soviet considers it necessary, it has the right to set up a parliamentary commission, and it, according to good parliamentary practice, should include representatives of all groups in parliament, with the exception, of course, of those who participated in the organization and holding of the demonstration in Gagarin Square which lead to mass disorder", the deputy chairman said. "These factions should be responsible for what happened", he added.

"In this connection it does not seem strange to me that Ruslan Khasbulatov appointed Gennadiy Benov chairman of the commission, one of the leaders of the parliamentary opposition bloc Russian Unity", Zolotukhin added. "Today, the Supreme Soviet is made up of a majority of forces, which Benov belongs to, and naturally from the point of the view of their political interests the commission will be led by a person who will cover up the criminal violations allowed during the disturbances".

### OMON Trooper Dies of Injuries

*LD0505122293 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1100 GMT 5 May 93*

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] I have just received an urgent report from Moscow's Chief Medical Directorate. The 25-year old OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] trooper, Vladimir Aleksandrovich Tolokneyev, died in the intensive care unit of the Moscow No. 1 city clinical hospital at 1425 hours on 5 May 1993, that is one hour ago, without ever regaining consciousness. Tolokneyev was hurt during the May Day events on Gagarin Square in Moscow.

The Government of Moscow and the Chief Medical Directorate express sincere condolences to the relatives and friends of the deceased and to his service colleagues. We add our own condolences.

### Blame Apportioned

*PM0405134393 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 4 May 93 p 1*

[Stanislav Stremidlovskiy and Vladimir Zaynetdinov commentary: "Our Commentary"]

[Text] The 1 May holiday was unlucky even when it was born in Chicago in 1886. It ended in blood for Chicago's workers, who had taken to the streets demanding an eight-hour working day—they were dispersed by the police.

Somewhat later the holiday fell into good hands in the land of triumphant and all-powerful teaching, where it was pampered and cherished. But 107 years later there has been a repeat of the Chicago episode. And the militia were fighting not just anywhere but in Moscow—with demonstrators who had turned out to celebrate May Day.

We would note straightaway that neither side used kid gloves. What was the reason for such bitterness? In the opinion of many people, both the militia and the rally participants wanted a clash.

And, ultimately, they got one. The results of bloody Saturday are well-known. But the worst is probably still to come. Such a violent clash between the authorities and the opposition will inevitably have an impact on the old sore of Russian politics, exacerbating the confrontation between the authorities to the limit. It is already being surmised that the executive, which is currently experiencing a kind of giddiness from its referendum success, wanted to flex its muscles. They wanted to people to know which party had strength its side. Otherwise, it is hard to explain why it was necessary to block the demonstrators' path. It has long been known that the militia have the same effect on a rally as a red rag to a bull.

Now we will have to wait for retaliatory steps from our lawmakers. There will be a flood of new accusations against the president, which will be used to quietly remove a further chunk of powers from the executive. So Russia can expect more upheavals.

One thing is hard to take. Once again the people beaten up were ordinary demonstrators, while the organizers—like Chapayev's potato commanders [allusion unknown]—kept in the background. It is said that the real communists, Zyuganov and Lukyanov, slipped away down a side street while the demonstrators were battling the militia.

May 9 is coming. There will probably be yet another rally. Will we get by without blood being spilled, or will somebody want a show of strength again?

## More on Opposition News Conference

*PM0405143593 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 4 May 93 p 3*

[N. Garifullina report comprising comments at 2 May news conference by Russian People's Deputy Ilya Konstantinov; Russian People's Deputy Ivan Shashviashvili; Gennadiy Zyuganov, chairman of the Russian Federation Communist Party Central Executive Committee; Russian People's Deputy Mikhail Astafyev; and Viktor Anpilov, chairman of the "Working Russia" movement's executive committee and secretary of the Russian Communist Workers Party Central Committee: "Scenario of Fear"]

[Text] In connection with the monstrous disinformation relating to the events of 1 May that is being peddled by all channels of state television and radio broadcasting, the united opposition held a news conference 2 May at the House of Soviets at which facts and evidence relating to the actions of the authorities on "bloody Saturday" were presented and assessed.

Russian People's Deputy Ilya Konstantinov: The videotape held by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the television companies shows that the column of demonstrators was completely unarmed. If you make a careful study of the frames which capture the moment when the demonstrators clashed with the Special-Purpose Militia Detachment [OMON] personnel, you will see that, apart from flags and placards, the demonstrators were holding nothing. Nothing! The OMON personnel set about the demonstrators' heads with nightsticks. They began to beat people in an unprovoked manner; most of the people they beat were women, children, and old men. They hit women and kicked people lying on the ground. We witnessed these brutal beatings. Tear gas and water cannons were used. A number of the injured were women and pensioners. These are the "thugs" Luzhkov referred to.

I am convinced that what happened was a deliberate, gross, and premeditated provocation designed to destabilize the situation and frighten the opposition.

Russian People's Deputy Ivan Shashviashvili: A commission comprising Supreme Soviet, Moscow City Soviet, and rayon soviet deputies was established 1 May to uncover instances of violations of the Constitution with regard to the 1 May demonstrators. Over 3,000 signatures have been collected for an appeal to the Supreme Soviet and the General Prosecutor's Office, information is being gathered and casualties' statements are being collated. We already have several hundred of these. So who was beaten up? They include Lenin Prize winner David Lvovich Dmitriyev and Petr Fedorovich Barchukov, a holder of four combat decorations who is about 80 years old. According to our estimates, several hundred people were beaten up...

Mr. Luzhkov, commenting on the events of 1 May, completely distorted what had happened. He showed us items which had no connection with the demonstrators. When I climbed onto one of the vehicles that was blocking off Leninskiy Prospekt, I found boxes containing ball bearings and chains used for securing the side panels of trucks, as well as other objects. I saw this with my own eyes and can testify to it. Moreover, the provocation was carried out by certain people wearing sports clothes. We have documentary confirmation—an identity card—which fell from the pocket of one of these disguised people.

I am convinced that the action was planned with clinical precision because high-ranking individuals took part in it, namely General Kiselev and Deputy Internal Affairs Minister General Ivanov.

Gennadiy Zyuganov, chairman of the Russian Federation Communist Party Central Executive Committee: The day before the demonstration we learned that forces were being prepared that had never accompanied 1 May demonstrations before. Namely over 10,000 militiamen, 1,500 OMON personnel, and dozens of units of heavy-duty equipment. We had a talk with Deputy Minister Kulik. I briefed him on what would be happening, on the fact that the demonstrators would be marching under public holiday slogans and would not be embarking on any alternative actions. We requested an investigation in order to prevent this sort of provocation from being organized.

In the morning I spoke with the entire body of militiamen who were ensuring safety. None of them gave any cautions.

Never before in my experience have I ever encountered such harsh provocation. This was an absolutely peaceful demonstration. None of the officials warned the organizers about a possible barrier.

Pay close attention to the 1 May Vesti program. On the one hand they say that sharp implements and so forth were used, but on the other hand they show pictures of the injured and talk about bruises and tear wounds. We would ask them to clarify who exactly received a puncture wound. At the moment there is no information about this. What we have is completely false information inspired by those who fomented this action.

Russian People's Deputy Mikhail Astafyev: Deputy Konstantinov and I went around all five militia stations in the vicinity of Leninskiy Prospekt. We were told that there had been several arrests, but none of the demonstrators was found to be carrying any weapons.

We were shown fragments of flags and placards, but we neither saw nor heard about any sharp implements. We called in at five militia stations—in Gorkiy Park, Gagarin Square, Polyanka Street, and behind the "Moskva" Department Store—nowhere were we shown any "combat" implements. Moreover, the militiamen themselves lodged no particular complaints.

Viktor Anpilov, chairman of the "Working Russia" movement executive committee and secretary of the Russian Communist Workers Party Central Committee: Radio and television are peddling the story that it was the 1 May demonstrators who attacked OMON personnel. This is a brazen lie. First, we made a decision to avoid a clash even before the procession got under way by the Lenin monument. Representatives of all parties were present. Whoever was at the rally will remember my appeal to those taking part. The people did not want to go along Leninskiy Prospekt, everybody wanted to go to Red Square along the route that had been announced. But I said: Let people brand me a coward, but we are not going that way. We were leading people away from confrontation.

However, somebody was very much in favor of confrontation and bloodshed.

...I saw OMON personnel kicking a veteran who was lying on the ground. Here in Russia the principle of do not hit a man when he is down has always operated. Fascists hit a man when he is down! But even when OMON personnel found themselves in a difficult situation we tried to help them. Yuriy Tskhevrebashvili, for example, a member of our party's Central Committee, dragged away an OMON officer, covered him with his body, and said: "Clear off!" But old men were being beaten up there. I saw their medals and decorations covered in blood. I saw fascism rear its ugly head...

## Parliament's 'Pro-Coup' Attitude Criticized

*LD0505140393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1316 GMT 5 May 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow May 5 TASS—A group of democratically-minded members of the Russian parliament said the parliament's role on May Day clashes was "pro-coup plotters", according to Boris Zolotukhin, Georgiy Zadonskiy, Stanislav Shustov and Gleb Yakunin, who spoke at a press conference here today.

The speakers stressed that members of the National Salvation Front, the leaders of communist groups, Labour Moscow and other opposition groups chose to manifest their activity in the square in front of the Russian parliament building. "This means that the parliament is becoming headquarters of these forces", the press conference was told.

Referring to the professed intention of the extremists to organize more rioting on May 9, members of the parliament's reform coalition called on the minister of the internal affairs to appear on television on the eve of victory day and make clear to citizens what punishment they can incur by holding unsanctioned rallies and demonstrations.

Parliament member Stanislav Shustov recalled that in accordance with the law on the status of Moscow, approved by the parliament, it is up to the supreme legislature to ban demonstrations in some areas of Moscow. Instead, the parliament chairman is seeking to shift the responsibility for rioting in Moscow on the Moscow mayor's office.

The speakers at the press-conference said they sent a telegram to Yuriy Luzhkov asking him to forbid the National Salvation Front, the Communist Party of Russia, the Labour Russia and Labour Moscow organisations, which are to blame for the clashes and casualties on may one, to hold demonstrations on May 9. They said they appealed to the Supreme Court justice, Major-General Anatoliy Ukolov who is in charge of the trial of the August 1991 coup plotters to take in custody until the end of the trial Anatoliy Lukyanov (former speaker of the Soviet parliament), Gennadiy Yanayev (former vice-president) and Vladimir Kryuchkov (former KGB chief) who took part in the May Day demonstration.

They also said an inquiry was sent to the procurator general of Russia, Valentin Stepankov about the possibility of abolishing the Communist Party of Russia, the National Salvation Front, the Labour Moscow organisation, the Revival Party, the Union of Communists and the Allied Workers' Front as organisations guilty of unleashing rioting and causing damage on May 1 in Moscow.

According to Boris Zolotukhin, who is deputy head of the parliament Committee for Legislation, there is corpus delicti in what happened in Gagarin Square—both the organisers and executioners must be brought to court in accordance with the Russian criminal code. But somehow none of the organisers has yet been taken into custody.

According to Zolotukhin, the parliament, which set up a commission to investigate the May 1 events after the procurator-general's office instituted criminal proceedings, thereby usurped the investigative power.

## City Government on 'Provocation'

*LD0405121093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1050 GMT 4 May 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Sugak]

[Text] Moscow May 4 TASS—The Moscow government on Tuesday [4 May] accused the leadership of Russia's Supreme Soviet (parliament) of a false interpretation of the May Day riots on Gagarin Square and of patronising riot inciters.

"The May Day provocation by the neo-Communists, as a result of which dozens of demonstrators and hundreds of Moscow militiamen sustained injuries, brings the organisers of those mass activities face to face with the law. Responsibility also rests with the parliament leadership," says a statement issued by the Moscow government.

"The Russian parliament's interpretation of the May Day riots is an undisguised lie aimed at discrediting Russia's and

Moscow's executive authority which won the confidence of the people during the all-Russia referendum.

"The deputies' commission, set up by the parliament speaker in an authoritarian manner and headed by riot inciters, has no right to investigate the May Day developments", the statement points out.

### Organizations Urge Punishment

*LD0405141993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1301 GMT 4 May 93*

[Text] Moscow May 4 TASS—The Coordination Council of the Russian Voters Association issued a statement demanding strict punishment for those who provoked May Day clashes and the changing of the measure of restriction for members of the State Emergency Committee.

The association's founders are the Independent Mining Union, Cinema Workers Union, Union of Cossack Troops, Federation of Air Traffic Controllers Unions, the Farmers Party and other public associations.

The statement says:

"The May Day clashes in Moscow indicate that the intransingent opposition is striving to disrupt peaceful development of society. Ignoring the results of the Russian referendum and defying the Russian president elected by the whole people, the lawful government and its course of reform, the opposition set itself the task of seizing power. It merged forces with the aggressive majority of the Supreme Soviet headed by Ruslan Khasbulatov.

"Leaders of the parliament resorted to political terror regarding deputies and parliamentary committees that did not agree with them. They dissolved precisely the committees that supported the president and his reforms: the committees for the mass media and the economic reform.

"Teaming up with members of the State Emergency Committee and the National Salvation Front, communists from the soviets urged militants to attempt a forcible seizure of power and tried to bring about an outbreak of civil war in Russia.

"Russian history shows that Bolsheviks see no other way, that from political terror they passed on to professional terror. Physical terror against militiamen is part of their criminal actions. It is not accidental that the masterminds of the may day clashes and subsequent actions include such political adventurists as leader of Russian communists G. Zyuganov, ideological mastermind of the State Emergency Committee A. Lukyanov, chief of the political police V. Kryuchkov and those deputies who oppose the president and his reforms, who constantly speak on behalf of the people although the people by their vote in the referendum actually stripped these persons of the right to be people's deputies and speak on their behalf.

"People of Russia have made their choice on April 25, expressing confidence and support for the president and his policy of reforms. Any opposition to their decision and attempt to ignore the referendum's results are directed against the people.

"We condemn the actions of communist rowdies and soviets they control. We demand the immediate suspension of the activity of all structures of soviets and the introduction of direct presidential rule over the entire Russian territory. We are certain that the Russian Federation's ministries of security and interior dedicated to people and reforms will do everything necessary to introduce order and to bring to book those who are guilty of organising clashes. It is necessary to change immediately the measure of restriction for members of the State Emergency Committee who use their freedom for staging actions in which blood of Russians is spilt.

"We hope that Moscow's mayor and government will find the necessary means, including hard currency, to save the life of an OMON militiaman who was injured by bandits".

### Official Urges 'Tough' Action

*LD0405142393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1306 GMT 4 May 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Gvritishvili]

[Text] Moscow May 4 TASS—Member of the Presidential Council Vladimir Tikhonov on Tuesday [4 May] declared in favour of the president's and the government's tough and decisive actions against the radical opposition that provoked clashes on May Day.

"Reforms will be doomed to failure if the executive authorities do not show firmness in the consolidation of law and order", he told ITAR-TASS. He believes "the authorities should clearly realise where democracy ends and lawlessness begins". "It is impossible to build a democratic society without a strong executive power", Tikhonov believes.

Regarding the just formed commission of the Supreme Soviet to investigate the May Day events in Moscow, Tikhonov said he believes it will "try to shift the blame for the tragedy in Gagarin Square to the executive authorities". "The commission's conclusions will be aimed at provoking a new spiral of confrontation between two branches of power", he said.

### Unrest Called 'Cunning Provocation'

*PM0405134193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 May 93 p 1, 3*

[Aleksandr Pelts, Vasiliy Fatigarov report: "Will the Bloodshed Sober Us All Up?"]

[Excerpt] Nature itself seemed to be doing all it could to ensure that the May Day festivities would be just that: We had marvelous, sunny days inducing a peaceful state

of mind. But, alas, the festivities were hopelessly overshadowed by the mayhem that erupted on the streets of Moscow on May Day itself.

It is hardly worth going over again the mishaps of the tragedy now, some days on: Television showed it all graphically enough as it happened more than once. Emotional arguments over who started it and who is more guilty will scarcely help matters either. A serious investigation is essential here.

One thing is clear: The maimed special militiaman who was carrying out the instruction to maintain order, the veteran beaten up after being brought in to break through the militia cordons under slogans in which he has believed all his life and will continue to believe until the end, and the many, many people who willingly or otherwise found themselves at the epicenter of the street clash were in no way the main protagonists. It is clear that an air of cunning provocation hung over the whole event. It is also clear that the prime cause of the bloody events was the extremely long-drawn-out constitutional crisis, which may have reached its peak, and the increasingly drastic forms of confrontation among the branches of power.

The referendum answered many, but far from all the questions. It did not resolve the crisis although it did provide, figuratively speaking, new base lines. It provided an opportunity to achieve a relatively quick solution, including the opportunity to adopt a new constitution and renew the system of power. Yes, it will still encounter harsh differences along the way. Yes, there will still be a struggle before progress is made. But it is a struggle which can and must proceed within normal political forms, without street clashes, without nightsticks, iron bars, sharpened implements...

Will all the bloodshed of the May Day holiday sober us all up? Will we grasp that more and more new conflicts only deepen the cracks in our society? No matter how deep the political, economic, and social differences are, they cannot be resolved by violence. Nor can they be resolved by revolutions or repression.

Ultimately it is better for the people to turn out for yet another referendum and answer the questions which have to be resolved before we can make further progress along the path of reforms. It is better to have to take part in a referendum ten or even a hundred times more than to tumble into the maelstrom of civil carnage, bloodshed, and fratricide.

...May Day in Belarus was said to be like every other. Kazakhstan, according to the news agencies, enjoyed a bright, colorful, spring festival. Why are they getting along better down there today? Why are we in Russia the way we are? [passage omitted]

## Russian Communists Protest 'Bloodletting'

*PM0405134593 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 4 May 93 p 3*

[Statement by Russian Federation Communist Party Central Executive Committee Presidium: "Dictatorship Shall Not Pass!"]

[Text] The May Day tragedy in Moscow demonstrated quite obviously that the ruling regime cannot lead the country out of the crisis along a peaceful, constitutional path. If the authorities, as they claim, enjoy the unconditional support of the majority of the people, why, on the day of a nationwide official state holiday, did they have to block the streets and squares of the capital, bring in thousands of armed thugs in militia uniform in vehicles, on horseback, and on foot, to put a peaceful demonstration by working people into a "mousetrap," and to brutally beat up the participants after the demonstration had made an obvious attempt to avoid a clash?

There cannot be two answers. The authorities are deliberately trying to aggravate the situation, are frantically seeking a pretext to take emergency steps against their political opponents, and are scorning no acts of provocation in the process. The present act of provocation is of a particularly cynical nature because it continues the chain of ritual bloodletting on the days that are most sacred to the people—bloodletting initiated 23 February and continued 22 June last year.

The Russian Federation Communist Party Central Executive Committee Presidium resolutely protests the Moscow authorities' provocative actions undoubtedly undertaken with the knowledge and approval of top officials in the president's administration and government. We reject attempts to blame the incident on the Communists and all popular-patriotic forces and we state that full political and legal responsibility rests with the organizers and executors of the dirty act of provocation and reprisal against unarmed people.

The Russian Federation Communist Party Central Executive Committee demands the immediate resumption of the Supreme Soviet session and the appointment of a parliamentary inquiry into the May Day events.

We urge the Communists, patriots, and all honest citizens of the country to raise their voices in protest against the bloody reprisal against the peaceful demonstration, against the cynical mockery of the people's feelings. At the same time we consider it necessary to warn the staffers of the law enforcement organs and other power structures of the impermissibility of their further participation in the war against their own people, in which they will earn nothing but universal anger and scorn.

We urge the working people, in this critical hour for the fate of the Fatherland, to display restraint and vigilance and the readiness to repel the provocateurs. The dictatorship shall not pass!

[Signed] the Russian Federation Communist Party Central Executive Committee Presidium

### Demonstrators Issue 'Appeal'

*PM0405142193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 May 93 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "Clash Was Planned"]

[Text] The participants of the 1 May demonstration in Moscow have made an appeal to the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet and the Russian Federation general prosecutor.

The appeal says:

We, the participants of the May Day demonstration in Moscow, resolutely protest against the act of crude and arbitrary violence committed by the authorities and the law-enforcement bodies during the procession on 1 May 1993.

The May Day demonstration was openly and lawfully organized on a Russian Federation state holiday. A number of public organizations gave notice of the holding of a rally and demonstration in Red Square, but two days before the holiday, when the legal period of notice had expired, the Russian Federation president issued a directive banning the holding of rallies and demonstrations in Red Square and adjoining streets and squares.

Moscow City Hall established a new, much shorter route for the procession in the vicinity of Oktyabrskaya Square. The assembly point was already blocked by trucks and militia. In these conditions, in order to avoid clashes, the demonstration's leaders decided not to go to the center, but to hold the rally on the Lenin Hills and go there along the capital's Leninskiy Prospekt.

Near Gagarin Square the peaceful demonstration was halted by a previously arranged barrier of trucks and buses and militia subunits. The militia used sticks, tear gas, and water cannons to disperse the demonstrators. So the clash between demonstrators and the militia, during which dozens of people were savagely beaten and seriously injured, was deliberately provoked.

We say that there were no grounds for using such violent measures. The demonstration was headed along a traffic-free street away from the city center. We have concrete evidence that the fight between the demonstrators and the militia was started by a group of people in tracksuits, who then participated in the dispersal and beating of the demonstrators.

We regard these actions by the authorities as a deliberate provocation, in order to prompt resistance on the part of the demonstrators and then use this as a pretext for emergency measures.

We demand that the Russian Supreme Soviet and general prosecutor take strict legal action against those who initiated and incited the violence against the peaceful demonstrators.

The appeal was signed by 2,500 demonstrators.

Signatures continue to come in.

### Coup Plotters May Return to Jail

*LD0505093593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0845 GMT 5 May 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents]

[Text] Moscow May 5 TASS—Organisers of the hard-line coup in Moscow in August 1991 who participated in the May 1 demonstration in Moscow which resulted in a violent clash with police may get back to prison to await trial.

The office of the Russian prosecutor general intends to request the Supreme Court to change "the measure of restriction" against former Soviet parliament speaker Anatoliy Lukyanov, former KGB head Vladimir Kryuchkov and other coup organisers because their activities, as the May 1 events showed, pose a danger to public order, TASS learned from well-informed sources in the prosecutor's office.

The coup plotters were released from investigation prison to await trial at home on their own recognisance to remain in Moscow.

This measure of restriction did not deprive the accused of the freedom of speech, they participated in rallies and meetings of opposition parties, Prosecutor General Valentin Stepankov explained to TASS.

The trial of the accused was suspended after one of the defendants suffered a heart attack.

### Marchers Had Factory-Made Weapons

*MK0505111493 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 May 93 p 2*

[Unattributed report under the rubric "In Brief"]

[Text] Moscow—According to a statement by chiefs of the Moscow OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachments], unidentified persons from among the demonstrators put an army mine under an OMON truck wheel during the 1 May riots in Gagarin Square. Luckily, the mine was removed from under the wheel in time, and no explosion occurred. According to Ministry of Internal Affairs specialists, many assault weapons the demonstrators used in Gagarin Square had been manufactured on a mass scale by an industrial method. This is because it is impossible, at home, to sharpen and attach a special handle to a rod made of the high-quality, and very costly, steel alloy used in the defense industry. The ball bearings the demonstrators used to smash the plastic visors of OMON men are absolutely new. They are stamped "23d

GPZ" [23d State Ball-Bearing Plant] and were brought in big factory-packed crates. The authorities did not manage to detain the truck that brought the ball bearings to the site where OMON men were attacked.

### Nearly All Detainees Free

*PM0505133593 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 5 May 93 p 1*

[Andrey Podkopalov report under the general headline "Results of the Peaceful Demonstration Summed Up at Sklifosovskiy Clinic"]

[Text] As we managed to clarify by means of questioning leaders of opposition parties, not all of them ran from the battlefield behind the backs of their supporters during the brawl with the militia.

Thus, it was generally acknowledged that S. Terekhov, leader of the "Union of Officers," "fought like a lion." With his own hands he captured two militia shields—and as a result, with broken glasses and impressive bruises, was arrested by the OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment]. Admittedly, he was later released.

Ilya Konstantinov distinguished himself among the deputies—he showed your correspondent a fair-sized abrasion on his arm—according to him, it was "only quick reactions" that enabled him to deflect a stone "that came flying over from the militia's side."

Deputies Khayryuzov and Sorokin also demonstrated their "unity with the people" by receiving several blows of a truncheon.

Although he did not specially look for trouble, Anpilov saved his reputation by getting hit by the jet of a water cannon.

Members of the Komsomol [All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League] proved to be far more active—thus, their leader Malyarov lost a tooth, and found himself with a swollen ear and the problem of how to go back to work after the holidays with his "prettified" face. And then, when it was all over, several "young guards" took some material evidence home—several militia shields.

But truth to tell, G. Zyuganov and A. Lukyanov were indeed not noticed on the battlefield.

According to the latest reports, practically all those who were detained during and after the incident are already at liberty again.

As for the "provocations" on the part of the law enforcement organs, the same I. Malyarov confirmed that the attack came as a surprise to the militia, and the demonstrators were the initiators—"people who were being cornered like animals... had to be given an emotional outlet."

### National Salvation Front Leader Cited

*AU0505141493 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 4 May 93 p 5*

[Interview with Nikolay Pavlov, member of the Politburo of the National Salvation Front, by Ctirad Svitak in Russia on 1 May: "No Democracy In Russia"]

[Text] At the demonstration on 23 April before the referendum, the leaders of neocommunist and fascist-leaning organizations—associated in the National Salvation Front—suggested that the referendum would be the last battle of Stalingrad for the opposition, since it is impossible to yield any more to the bourgeois counter-revolution. A week later, basically the same red- brown leaders were the main organizers of the May Day march that ended in bloody skirmishes in Leninskiy Prospekt in Moscow. The failure to stick to the designated route for the demonstration was the opposition's first reaction to the fact that it had lost in the referendum. The people of Russia expressed their support not only for Russian President Boris Yeltsin, but also for his economic reform. The essence of similar skirmishes in the evening after the demonstration was best depicted by one of the commentators of Russian Television, when he commented on pictures from the demonstration by saying: "The communists are dangerous because they cannot accept losing".

The fact that Russian democrats have no reason for optimism in this respect was confirmed by the 1 May interview for CESKY DENIK by N. Pavlov, one of the most influential and, at the same time, most extreme leaders of the neocommunist opposition.

[Svitak] From your viewpoint, how do you assess the events that happened in Leninkiy Prospekt today?

[Pavlov] The unjustified use of force shows the direction in which events will go in our country. I think that not only the National Salvation Front will be banned, but also other opposition organizations. Even the minimal democracy that exists today will be destroyed. This is obvious, among other things, from the draft constitution the president is pushing to adopt.

[Svitak] Excuse me, but since you speak about the end of democracy, how do you explain the fact that the militia may have prevented you from reaching the Vorobyev Hills, formerly Lenin Hills, but no one obstructed your meeting directly in Leninskiy Prospekt?

[Pavlov] The thing is not what they did or did not allow. Democracy may be destroyed gradually, too. From our viewpoint, the first step in that direction is the fact that the government tries to force us to do what they allow, and not what we want to do. This was a provocation that had been planned beforehand.

[Svitak] Why did you decide to lead the demonstrators through Leninskiy Prospekt?

[Pavlov] Before the demonstration started we examined the situation and discovered that there was such a gigantic number of militia on the Krymskiy Val that we would be absolutely unable to make it to the center. From a moral point of view, we did not want blood spilt on the traditional Soviet holiday. That is why we decided to not to go Red Square, despite the fact that we have been celebrating May Day there for 60 years. People could not understand it at first, and they were angry that someone could forbid them to go to the Mausoleum. Anyway, we talked them into going to the Lenin Hills. We did not have the slightest idea that the militia would provoke a conflict.

(CESKY DENIK editorial note: Before the communist demonstration took place, its organizers had been informed that they had been allowed to hold their meeting at the Krymskiy Val. A tribune and audio equipment were installed there specially for this purpose at the expense of Moscow City Hall.)

[Svitak] What will the next development be, in your opinion?

[Pavlov] If the ruling echelons do not want to return to the time of Stalinist repressions of 1937, then they must issue a corresponding declaration regarding the events that took place. If they decided to introduce a South American-style dictatorship, then they certainly will be successful. All of us have certain limits. (CESKY DENIK remark: Pavlov is a member of the leadership of the National Salvation Front, who proclaims, among other things, a return to state censorship, a ban on private enterprise, the revival of the military confrontation with the West, an end to the pluralist political system, and drastic restrictions on the right to travel.)

[Svitak] At the meeting, you invited your supporters to begin a campaign of resistance to the existing government—you call it occupation government. Can you give us more details about what you understand under this term?

[Pavlov] I meant normal forms of civic protest. This means letters, telegrams, meetings, and demonstrations. We have never called for strikes and I believe that even this time we will not take this step.

[Svitak] Do you refuse to admit, then, that the state power has the right to permit or prohibit demonstrations and designate locations where they should take place?

[Pavlov] The situation in our country is not normal. Prohibiting demonstrations is called the fight for democracy, attempts to disperse parliament are called the fight for democracy, and if the president tries to acquire greater powers, greater than the Russian tsars had, then this is also called the fight for democracy. The situation in our country is upside down. Reactionaries are launching attack on all fronts. We understand that what happened during the May Day celebrations is linked to the draft constitution Yeltsin presented yesterday. The president has no chance of winning in democratic elections, and this is why he is trying to dissolve the existing parliament. The constitution drafted by him abolishes the overwhelming number of powers of the existing parliament, and makes it possible for him to become a classic example of a dictator, in Latin American style.

[Svitak] Can you comment on the fact that your supporters attacked the militia with stones and rods?

[Pavlov] That is not true. I was marching in the front, and in front of us there were stewards who did not have any weapons in their hands, then myself, comrade Lukyanov (CESKY DENIK note: A. Lukyanov is one of the accused in the court proceedings against the organizers of the August 1991 putsch.) and several deputies of the Russian parliament.

[Svitak] I saw something different and that is why I cannot agree. However, before I can agree with your interpretation of events, I must ask you why the Yeltsin administrative would be interested in intervening in a peaceful demonstration.

[Pavlov] The existing power assumed the task of destroying the opposition, at any price. That is why they resorted to this provocation. It was difficult to convince the people that we should not go to Red Square, despite the fact that we have been demonstrating there for 60 years and that the prohibition itself was absolutely illegal.

[Svitak] Can you sum up what happened, in your opinion?

[Pavlov] The political context is quite clear to me. The existing pseudo-democrats wanted to prove that they are the ones who have the power in their hands, and that they will use means to enforce it the way they think it right.

## Moscow Democratic Russia Head Cited

*PM0505130593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 May 93 First Edition p 2*

["The Ruling Opposition Needs Corpses. Statement by the Cochairmen of the Moscow City Organization of the Democratic Russian Movement in Connection with the May Day Events on Leninskiy Prospect"—IZVESTIYA headline]

[Text] From the very first rallies of the winter of 1988-89 and the resistance to armored transports on 28 March 1991, and even when Gorbachev banned rallies inside the Sadovoye Beltway, democratic forces have always operated within the law. Organizers and activists have always done everything to avoid putting rally participants and law-enforcement agency personnel at risk.

The actions of national-communists are the direct opposite. Innumerable violations of stated times and routes for demonstrations, provocations against the militia, assaults on people's deputies and journalists, calls for violence and interethnic strife, threats and abuse toward the authorities. They are always prepared to sacrifice

people. While claiming to speak for the people, they are in fact spitting on the people's will clearly expressed in the referendum.

Unfortunately law-enforcement agencies, and first and foremost the Prosecutor's Office, which is dependent on the Supreme Soviet, openly condone this escalation of violence. We are being inured to lawlessness and blood.

Nobody has been punished even for last summer's Ostankino events. The results of the investigation have not been published.

The mass media, which have turned the members of the State Committee for the State of Emergency [SCSE] virtually into television stars, have made their contribution to the escalation of impunity.

Ultrademocrats—Russian deputies of the likes of Chelnokov and Moscow City Soviet deputies of the likes of Sedykh-Bondarenko—have joined forces with the national-communists. Hatred for the president and the administration have become a means of existence and the sole criterion of democratism for them. Double standards have become commonplace: They do not condemn the violations of laws and civil rights by the Congress and the Supreme Soviet, the blatant provocations of the national-communists, or their own leaders' loutishness. The deputies' commission to investigate the May Day events includes representatives of only one side. This is the kind of "democracy" they are defending.

The abscess came to a head and had to burst.

The blame for the blood of hundreds of people on both sides lies with the national-communists and those who have indulged them, hyped them, and portrayed them as the innocent victims of the authorities. The blame is also shared by those who have still not seen through these provocateurs, those who responded to their appeal and went to Leninskiy Prospect with sincerity and peaceful intentions and provided cover for them with their own bodies.

On behalf of the thousands of participants from the Moscow Democratic Russia organization,

On behalf of the 70,000 participants in the 28 March Vasilyevskiy Spusk rally who gave us their names and telephone numbers,

Respecting the will of the 3 million Muscovites who voted for the continuation at reform at the referendum,

In the name of the tranquility, security, and human rights of the million Muscovites who did not support the reforms at the referendum,

We urge and demand:

that until and during the SCSE members' trial they be isolated from society since at liberty they are continuing activity which incriminates them;

that the investigation of the May Day events be held expeditiously, that a distinction be drawn between the organizers and provocateurs and the ordinary demonstrators, and that the results of the investigation be passed to the courts;

that rallies and demonstrations by social organizations responsible for the May Day demonstration on Leninskiy Prospect be not allowed on 9 May;

that the legal basis for neutralizing extremist organizations be urgently created;

that the policy of reforms and democratization be consistently continued, avoiding succumbing to provocation.

And it must not be forgotten for a moment that, following its defeat at the referendum, the ruling opposition very much needs corpses!

[Signed] Moscow City Soviet deputy Nina Zybina, Moscow City Soviet Presidium member Dmitriy Katayev, Antifascist Center Chairman Yevgeniy Proshechkin, and Moscow City Soviet deputy Yuriy Nisnevich, cochairmen of the Moscow City Organization of the Democratic Russia Movement

## Knives, Explosives Ready for 9 May

*PM0505083593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 5 May 93 p 1*

[YEZHEDNEVNAYA GLASNOST report: "Opposition Has Reached the Point Where It Is Getting Its Knives Out for Its March"]

[Text] The united opposition continued their picket on the White House 3 May. The pickets—representatives of pro-communist parties—pitched a few tents near the White House. They proudly call the territory they occupy—an area of around 0.10 hectares—the unconquered territory of the Soviet Union.

Viktor Anpilov, leader of the Russian Communist Workers Party, honored the get-together with his presence and for some reason congratulated the gathering on their victory in the referendum and also on dealing Yeltsin's regime a military defeat 1 May. Aleksandr Kazintsev, one of the members of the NASH SOVREMENNIK editorial collegium, was also observed to be present at the gathering.

A certain Barikhin, a close comrade-in-arms of Aleksandr Barkashov, the well-known leader of the profascist "Russian Unity" organization, said that this organization is fully "prepared" for the march scheduled for 9 May. Thus, Barikhin said in particular that knives and sharp instruments have been made ready and production of explosive packages stuffed with phosphorus and magnesium organized.

## Political Issues

### Yeltsin Awaits Referendum Results, Prepares Decrees

*LD0405115993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1114 GMT 5 May 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow May 5 TASS—Russian president has prepared a number of decrees which will be signed after the final results of the referendum are announced, according to Sergey Yuschenkov, first deputy head of the Federal Information Centre.

One of the decrees "will implement many aspects from the televised address of Boris Yeltsin on March 20", he told reporters on Wednesday [5 May].

Another decree concerns certain reshuffling of the government, while the third one deals with material support to mass media, according to Yuschenkov.

### Roundup of Final Referendum Results

*LD0505143593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1357 GMT 5 May 93*

[Text] Moscow May 5 TASS—The Central Commission in charge of the nationwide referendum has summed up the results of the referendum on May 5 on the basis of protocols submitted by regional commissions:

The total number of citizens eligible to vote in the referendum—107,310,374

The number of citizens who received ballot papers—69,222,858

**The results of the referendum on the first question put on ballot papers**

| Do you have confidence in the Russian President Boris Yeltsin? | |
|---|---|
| 1. The number of citizens who took part in the vote | 68,869,947 |
| a percentage rate of the number of citizens eligible to vote | 64.2 |
| 2. The number of citizens who said yes | 40,405,811 |
| against the number of people (percentage rate) who took part in the vote | 58.7 |
| 3. The number of citizens who said no | 26,995,268 |
| against the number of citizens who took part in the vote (percentage rate) | 39.2 |
| 4. The number of ballot papers found invalid | 1,468,868 |

**Results of the referendum on the second question**

| Do you approve of the social policy pursued by the Russian president and the government of the Russian Federation since 1992? | |
|---|---|
| 1. The number of citizens who took part in the vote | 68,759,866 |
| a percentage rate of the number of citizens eligible to vote | 64.1 |
| 2. The number of citizens who said yes | 36,476,202 |
| against the number of citizens who took part in the vote (percentage rate) | 53.0 |
| 3. The number of citizens who said no | 30,640,781 |
| against the number of citizens who took part in the vote (percentage rate) | 44.6 |
| 4. The number of ballot papers found invalid | 1,642,883 |

**The results of the referendum on the third question**

| Do you think it is necessary to hold early elections of the president of the Russian Federation? | |
|---|---|
| 1. The number of citizens who took part in the vote | 68,762,529 |
| against the number of citizens eligible to vote in the referendum (percentage rate) | 64.1 |
| 2. The number of citizens who said yes | 34,027,310 |
| against the number of citizens eligible to vote in the referendum (percentage rate) | 31.7 |
| 3. The number of citizens who said no | 32,418,972 |
| against the number of citizens eligible to vote in the referendum (percentage rate) | 30.2 |
| 4. The number of ballot papers found invalid | 2,316,247 |

**Results of the referendum on the fourth question**

| Do you think it is necessary to hold early elections of people's deputies of the Russian Federation? | |
|---|---|
| 1. The number of citizens who took part in the vote | 68,832,060 |
| against the number of citizens eligible to vote in the referendum (percentage rate) | 64.1 |
| 2. The number of citizens who said yes | 46,232,197 |
| against the number of citizens eligible to vote in the referendum (percentage rate) | 43.1 |
| 3. The number of people who said no | 20,712,605 |
| against the number of citizens eligible to vote in the referendum (percentage rate) | 19.3 |
| 4. The number of ballot papers found invalid | 1,887,258 |

On the basis of the data mentioned above and in keeping with Article 35 of the Law of the Russian Federation on "The Referendum in the Russian Federation" the Central Commission has ruled as follows:

1. The nationwide Russian referendum of April 25, 1993 took place.

2. Resolutions were adopted on the first and second questions since more than half of citizens, who took part in the referendum, voted for them.

3. Resolutions were not adopted on the third and fourth questions of the referendum since less than half of citizens, eligible to take part in the referendum, voted for them.

[Signed] Central Commission for the Nationwide Referendum

## Deputy Premier Shumeyko Holds News Conference 5 May

### Opposition 'Planned' May Day Action

*LD0505101693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0928 GMT 5 May 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Podyapolskiy]

[Text] Moscow May 5 TASS—Vladimir Shumeyko, first deputy premier of Russia, described as a planned action the May Day clash of a demonstration of the joint opposition forces with OMON militia. Shumeyko told reporters on Wednesday [5 May] that professional actions of demonstrators "attest to their high theoretical and practical preparedness for a clash".

Noting that an official investigation into the May Day events had already begun, Shumeyko said much would be resolved at the parliamentary meeting on Wednesday. After the parliament decides on stripping initiators of clashes of deputy's immunity, it will become clear who pursues what aims, he said.

### Thinks Appointments Will Enforce Government

*LD0505101893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0951 GMT 5 May 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondnet Sergei Podyampolski]

[Text] Moscow May 5 TASS—The appointment of two new first deputy prime ministers is caused by a growing role of the state during stabilisation of economy, according to First Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeyko. He told reporters on Wednesday [5 May] that the appointment of Oleg Lobov and Oleg Soskovets will improve the work of the government.

The new appointments resulted in a certain redistribution of duties among first vice-premiers. Lobov, who is also the economics minister, will coordinate economic and investment policies. Soskovets will be in charge of the ministries for fuel and energy, transport, railways, state committees on industrial policy, machine-building, metallurgy.

Shumeyko will be responsible for "political" package of questions - for personnel policy and informational provision for reforms, interaction with parties and public organisations, for the development of small and medium-size businesses, science, education and culture.

Shumeyko believes it hardly possible that former acting prime minister Yegor Gaydar will return to the government. However, he added that Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin will meet Gaydar in the near future to discuss such a possibility.

The first deputy prime minister said he intends to reshuffle the governmental administration as "there are many complaints" against its employees. He added that it is both necessary to raise the professional level of the administration and get rid of those people whose ideological convictions negatively affect the work. "Disagreement with the policy of reforms should not tell on the implementation of direct office duties", Shumeyko said.

He added that many employees of the former central committee of the Soviet Communist Party, of the former Soviet president and government are currently working in the administration. This may be the reason why the opposition says that it has its own people in top echelons of power, Shumeyko said, adding that "the administration should not be an ideological machine and we shall get rid of people who want to decide for the government".

### Inflation Remains Major Concern

*LD0505110793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1001 GMT 5 May 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Podyampolskiy]

[Text] Moscow May 5 TASS—Inflation remains the major concern of the Russian Government, according to First Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeyko.

He told reporters on Wednesday [5 May] that social protection benefits introduced by President Boris Yeltsin on the eve of the referendum will not boost inflation. "All the decrees were thoroughly calculated and will not move the state budget deficit outside the planned framework", he said.

Shumeyko also added that the strict credit and monetary policy of the government yields results. "If we continue to preserve the policy and refrain from issuing credits to anyone who asks prices should stop in June-July", he predicted.

## Yeltsin Issues Decree on Establishing Monitoring Council

*LD0405140193 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1230 GMT 4 May 93*

[Text] The Russian Federation presidential press service reports that a decree on the monitoring and supervisory council [o kontrolno-nablyudatelnom sovete] under the directorship head of the Russian Federation President's administration and on the monitoring directorate [o kontrolnom upravlenii] of the presidential administration was released for publication today. It is pointed out that the monitoring and supervisory council is a permanent body, which ensures the elaboration and supervision of implementation of the main directions of state control within the executive system. The monitoring directorate of the Presidential Administration of Russia is a part of the presidential administration and monitors, on behalf and on the instruction of the president, the

activity of Russian Federation ministries and departments, of the executive authorities of krays, oblasts, autonomous okrugs and of Moscow and St. Petersburg.

### Functions of New Departments Outlined

*LD0405161193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1400 GMT 4 May 93*

[Text] Moscow May 4 TASS—A decree of Russian President Boris Yeltsin on a Control-Observation Council under the Russian President staff head and a Control Department of the Russian President's Staff was submitted for publishing today, the Russian president's press service reports.

The Control-Observation Council shall be a permanent consultative body to ensure the elaboration of major state control provisions and observation of their fulfilment in the system of executive power bodies.

The head of the Russian president staff shall be the chairman of the Control-Observation Council. His deputy, in charge of the Control Department, shall be the deputy council head. Members of the Control-Observation Council shall personally and free of charge participate in the council work.

The Control Department of the Russian President Staff shall be a service of presidential control, part of the president staff and control on behalf of the Russian president and on his instruction activities of Russian ministries and departments, executive power bodies in territories, regions, the autonomous region, autonomous districts and the cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg.

The main task of the Control Department shall be provision of Russian president's control functions.

### Article Sees 'Swift Onset' of Khasbulatov's 'Isolation'

*PM0405151193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 May 93 First Edition p 4*

[Vladimir Nadein article: "Khasbulatov's Torch in Communists' Hands"]

[Text] It was not at all surprising that the organizers of the May Day adventure immediately sought refuge under the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet's wings. The top bosses of representative power had a long time ago harnessed the Communists in the race for the prize called Russia. Events in the last few days could possibly indicate that horse and rider have changed places.

The flow of events is already dragging the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet's leadership away from its objective. The May Day provocation was conducted by communist extremists in an extremely crude fashion. Of course, neither R.I. Khasbulatov nor his associates among parliament's top bosses wished this.

A week and a half of May holidays—this is indeed an opportunity to "strike while the iron is hot." The banners and the rustling of flags excite not just the elderly jackals of the SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency]. The last chance. There can be no better opportunity for kicking up a fuss, similar to last year's Ostankino events.

Khasbulatov's crowd evidently had nothing against a repetition of those days' events. The attempt was clearly successful. Ordinary people, as it were, had their say and spat at famous television stars. Militiamen were beaten up with flagpoles. All prosecutor's offices, from Russia's to Moscow's, timidly folded their tails between their legs. Nobody even attempted to find out which Saddam Husayn had sent the money that was handed out to the organizers of the disturbances and was used to pour drink down the throats of those who were suffering from hangovers since early morning.

Even Yegor Yakovlev was ultimately removed—by hook or by crook.

Had the latest clash on Leninskiy Prospekt been as anonymously and broadly based as the one outside Ostankino, this would have been a fitting response to the referendum. Thousands of faces dripping blood on both sides of the class barricades—this is much more eloquent than yes-yes-no-yes [in reply to the four referendum questions].

If a calamity befalls you, open up the doors. It was not enough that they had lost the referendum and had suddenly to face up to God knows what. The present unambiguity was totally useless to Khasbulatov. He had absolutely no use for this irrefutable documentary evidence, following which it would be very difficult to lie even at the congress.

The torch of Khasbulatov the politician is rapidly burning out. Just a month ago this would have been difficult to predict. Associates are abandoning him without warning. His stooges, flatteringly obedient until quite recently, are getting more daring and are looking in other directions.

All this is natural. Khasbulatov took on too much, he deluded too many people by the alluring prospects of swiftly dividing up Yeltsin's inheritance. Now the "15 men on the president's box" are predaciously looking at the man who led them along the most direct and shortest path to defeat.

It was they, these embittered associates, who were addressed by Khasbulatov with his prattle about the mass media's perfidy. It was they, sullenly preparing to sacrifice him as the ritual offering to public opinion, who received the speaker's attempted justification and reference to the "three days" which were needed to achieve victory.

Of course, R. Khasbulatov's strategic miscalculation was terrible. It was he who insisted on the second question

about confidence (or lack of confidence) in the president's economic reform. He did not doubt for a single moment that the answer would be in his favor. This is why the aftereffect of the blow dealt by the unreasonable population was so cruel.

By publishing the draft new constitution, the president denied Khasbulatov an opportunity to lie low and gather strength until the next round of clashes. No break was forthcoming. Unable to accept defeat, unable to see a place for himself in the country's political future, the chairman of All Soviets of Russia was surprised to find himself a hostage in the camp of figures whom he had until quite recently considered to be his hirelings.

Persecuted by no one, having aimlessly spent the night in freezing temperatures, embittered by the fact that they are not needed by anyone, the pickets outside the House of the Soviets on Krasnopresnenskaya Embankment are silently dispersing, marking the swift onset of the isolation of a politician who has overreached himself.

### Newly Appointed Vice Premier Soskovets Profiled

*MK0405105093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 4 May 93 p 2*

[Leonid Brodskiy report under "New Appointments in Russian Council of Ministers" rubric: "Oleg Soskovets Becomes Third First Vice Premier"]

[Text] The Russian president is extremely resolutely following his thesis on the need for a "firm cadre policy" which he announced at the latest Council of Ministers session 29 April. The very next day Boris Yeltsin signed an edict appointing Oleg Soskovets first deputy chairman of the Russian Government.

[KOMMERSANT-DAILY note] Oleg Soskovets, 44, is a graduate of the plant higher technical educational establishment attached to the Karaganda Metallurgical Combine. From 1987 he headed this enterprise. From May through August 1991 he occupied the post of USSR minister of metallurgy, after which he ran the "Roschermet" corporation. In 1992 he was first deputy chairman of the Kazakhstani Council of Ministers and Kazakhstani minister of industry. He was then appointed chairman of the Russian committee for metallurgy. [note ends]

In Viktor Chernomyrdin's cabinet the new vice premier has been given the job of looking after Russian industry. Obviously, Soskovets' experience in working in a similar post in the Kazakh Government played more than a minor role in this. Thus, a man who is not only well acquainted with Russian industry but who also has strong business contacts in the Commonwealth countries has appeared in the Russian Cabinet of Ministers.

Incidentally, this is precisely why Soskovets is the most suitable candidate to represent Russian interests in the Commonwealth countries' Consultative and Coordinating Committee, the decision to form which was adopted at the latest summit in Minsk.

But even outside this committee's framework vigorous actions to conclude multilateral sector agreements should be expected from the Russian Government, especially as this idea has made a great impact on the new first vice premier, a supporter of the economic integration of CIS countries' base sector enterprises. Furthermore, last week the prime minister also announced the possibility of forming a Eurasian Coal and Steel Union.

Another consequence of his appointment could be further cadre reshuffles in the Russian Government. As a result of the distribution of duties between Soskovets and Oleg Lobov, who apart from general economic questions has been given the job of overseeing conversion of the defense complex, Vice Premier Khizha is effectively "unemployed."

Since both Lobov and Soskovets have been given the rank of first vice premiers it is highly likely that Vice Premier Khizha, whose retirement is persistently rumored among members of the Council of Ministers apparatus, will have to vacate his office in Staraya Ploshchad.

### Agenda Outlined for 6 May Government Session

*LD0505100293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0849 GMT 5 May 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow May 5 TASS—As expected, the Russian Government is to hold its next regular session on Thursday [6 May]. According to the preliminary agenda, "joint-stock companies" and "introduction of changes and additions to the RSFSR 'payment of rent for land'" bills will be considered during the session.

The question of transforming the Russian Federation Municipal Committee into the Russian Federation State Housing and Municipal Committee, a Council of Ministers personnel and salary payment fund for workers of the central apparatus and separate bodies of the federal executive bill are also to be discussed.

The session will also consider draft statutes about the Russian Federation Ministry of the press and information, as well as the Foreign Ministry.

### Edict Banning Parties From State, Public Bodies

*PM0405151993 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 4 May 93 p 2*

[Edict No. 566 of the Russian Federation president "On Additional Measures To Prevent Political Parties and Their Structures From Interfering in the Activity of State Organs, Enterprises, Establishments, and Other Organizations," signed by Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin and dated the Kremlin, Moscow, 27 April 1993]

[Text] In connection with attempts to illegally revive the CPSU and the RSFSR Communist Party and with certain organizations' claims to be the rightful successors to the

CPSU and the RSFSR Communist Party, and also with attempts to revive their structures within state organs, enterprises, establishments, and other organizations;

noting that CPSU and RSFSR Communist Party structures, barring RSFSR Communist Party primary organizations formed on the territorial principle, usurped the powers of state authority in their activity and impeded the normal activity of constitutional organs of power, and some of them directly or indirectly supported the actions of the State Committee for the State of Emergency;

in view of the fact that the CPSU had effectively broken up by November 1991 and lost the status of an all-union organization and the RSFSR Communist Party was not organizationally registered as an autonomous political party, but remained a component part of the CPSU;

guided by the decision of the Russian Federation Constitutional Court, which reaffirmed the constitutionality of the dissolution of CPSU and RSFSR Communist Party leadership structures and the inadmissibility of reviving them;

and with a view to ensuring the equal rights of political parties and preventing their illegally interfering in the activity of state organs, enterprises, establishments, and other organizations, I decree that:

1. Federal organs of executive power and organs of executive power of republics within the Russian Federation, krays, oblasts, the autonomous oblast, autonomous okrugs, and the cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg are to be guided by Decree No. 14 of the RSFSR President of 20 July 1991 "On Terminating the Activity of Organizational Structures of Political Parties and Mass Public Movements Within RSFSR State Organs, Establishments, and Organizations" insofar as to prevent the creation and activity of primary organizations, committees, and political parties' other organizational structures within state organs and at enterprises, establishments, and other organizations within the Russian Federation.

2. The Russian Federation Justice Ministry and organs of justice of republics within the Russian Federation, krays, oblasts, the autonomous oblast, autonomous okrugs, and the cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg are, when registering political parties and mass public movements, to comply with the provisions of Section 3, Point 1, Part 2 of the Russian Federation Constitutional Court's decree of 30 November 1992 whereby their primary organizations are formed in accordance with the territorial principle, are public in nature, and do not strive to supplant state structures, and also on condition that they comply with the demands of the Russian Federation Constitution and laws.

3. The Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government and the organs of executive power of republics within the Russian Federation, krays, oblasts, the autonomous oblast, autonomous okrugs, and the cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg are to promulgate their adopted decisions regarding the use of the property of the CPSU and the RSFSR Communist Party.

[Signed] Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin
[Dated] The Kremlin, Moscow, 27 April 1993

## Motives for Rutskoy Ouster from Anti-Crime Job Eyed

*PM0505085993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 May 93 First Edition p 2*

[Article by Aleksey Vorobyev under the rubric "A Hypothesis": "What Has Aleksandr Rutskoy Done Wrong?"]

[Text] Boris Yeltsin's decision to remove Aleksandr Rutskoy from the leadership of the interdepartmental Commission for Combating Crime has come as an unpleasant surprise to many. True, something of the sort was expected, and it was not so much the fact of his removal itself that has shocked people, as the way it was done: hurriedly, and absolutely without explanation.

Of course, the head of the executive is by no means obliged to explain his every edict in detail to society. Only here, I think, is precisely an occasion where explanations are simply essential. The vice president was in charge of work that is important in the president conditions, in which the vital interests of virtually all social groups come together in a very narrow area.

Too often since becoming head of state has Boris Yeltsin declared "relentless and uncompromising" war on crime—a war generally ending in the arrest of a few low-ranking functionaries whom incidentally, they have not even managed to punish properly. Too great hopes suddenly flared up in the people after Rutskoy's speech at the Supreme Soviet session at which he made public incidents of corruption and embezzlement of state funds. Hopes that there would finally be an end to the pilfering of national resources and the blatant thievery of the functionary class.

"What has the vice president done wrong?"—millions of our fellow citizens have undoubtedly been asking themselves this question. Let us try to examine the matter and find the motives by which the president may have been guided.

We reject straight away the thesis of the radicals, that Rutskoy betrayed Yeltsin, as insulting to the president. After all, if figures in Democratic Russia believe that the disclosure of incidents of corruption is treachery to the head of state, they are thereby, by lack of forethought or by some kind of cunning design, linking Boris Nikolayevich himself with the gang of embezzlers of state funds.

On the contrary, it would actually have been treachery to the president to have covered up the aforementioned incidents.

Maybe the vice president confused something in his statements or made some mistakes, and thereby involuntarily cast a cloud over government members? No, all of them, without prior consultation, admitted that the incidents adduced are well known to them, that nothing new or sensational had been reported. Moreover, Yegor Gaydar had the chance to correct Rutskoy in a public interview, but he said nothing except the usual clever pronouncements on the economy. He did not even answer the most important question: Where is the money from the sale abroad of a large consignment of gold?

Not one clear mistake has been named—therefore the causes for what has happened should not be sought here.

Then, perhaps, Rutskoy was simply not up to the job? Also extremely doubtful. After all, only quite recently, having received from Yuriy Boldyrev, the then-main state inspector, the results of an investigation of abuses in the Western Group of Forces, it was the vice president that Boris Nikolayevich trusted to get right to the bottom of the matter. And Rutskoy's conclusions coincided with the conclusions of highly qualified jurists—there was evidence of theft on a particularly grand scale.

Some people today believe that Aleksandr Vladimirovich simply spoke at the wrong moment and could have damaged the president before the referendum. But who should know better than Boris Yeltsin, following the famous reprisals against him by the relicts of the Communist Central Committee in the fall of 1987 what arguments about the untimeliness of various statements are worth? And, of course, Gorbachev's notorious "...I will never allow you back into politics" will never fall from Boris Nikolayevich's lips, although his press secretary informed journalists with badly concealed joy that the vice president now finds himself in a political vacuum.

Political motives for the removal are also unlikely. They might have cut ice when Rutskoy had agriculture taken away from him. The views of the two leaders of the executive on the way to reform agriculture did not coincide in all respects. But both proclaimed the battle against crime with one accord.

In short, you can riddle over the motives of the president's decision for a long time. All that is important is that, "running through" all these scenarios, in the conditions of the total absence of any explanations, Russian citizens are obliged to settle on the most straightforward: People simply took fright at Rutskoy's denunciations. The figures from Boris Yeltsin's entourage, whom the vice president accused of abusing power, took fright. And they did everything to remove him from this job.

## Democratic Party Applauds Travkin Stand on Elections

*PM0405154793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 May 93 p 2*

[Report by Olga Kondratyeva: "Congress and President—Twin Brothers"]

[Text] A Democratic Party of Russia [DPR] Secretariat press conference was held on 30 April in connection with party chief Nikolay Travkin's surrendering his deputy's powers. The DPR Secretariat declared its full support for this step.

The Secretariat's statement points out that the "referendum did not lead to the resolution of the crisis of power in Russia. The president and his policy obtained the voters' support, but the degree of support, particularly in view of the regional variations in the voting, by no means gives him the moral right to take any 'ill-considered actions.' On the other hand, there are no legal grounds for early elections of people's deputies, although the results of the vote indicated that they do not have the support of Russians.

"As a result the Russian authorities face the same choice they faced on the eve of the referendum. Either continue the tug-of-war, by fueling confrontation and political hysteria, or leave voluntarily and make way for new people, by calling new elections. We hope that Nikolay Travkin's decisions will prompt people's deputies to surrender their powers early and hold new elections for a professional two-chamber parliament. We believe also that it is in the president's interests to confirm the voters' confidence that there will be an honest competition in the early presidential elections, which more than half of the citizens participating in the referendum voted for calling."

The DPR Secretariat's opinion is as follows: Since there are no legal grounds for early elections for the federal authorities, Nikolay Travkin's decision must be seen as a precedent for what is a most vital step at the moment.

The DPR leaders declared: The feeling is that the Congress, the Supreme Soviet, and the president's entourage are inseparable, like Siamese twins. They cannot exist separately. If the Congress disbands itself, the president's entourage will vanish too. The president's entourage, as the most striking form of political radicalism today, needs an enemy figure. In this sense Khasbulatov is the ideal choice, so the DPR leaders are convinced that Yeltsin must coddle and pamper the head of parliament. If Khasbulatov vanishes from the political arena who is going to be blamed then for the errors in economic, social, and nationalities policy?

The DPR is against the idea of the adoption of a Constitution by a Constituent Assembly, since it is not clear on the basis of what legal norms the assembly would be formed. If it is on the basis of elections, then is it not better to hold early elections for a parliament

which would adopt a new Constitution on a legal basis. The approval of the Constitution by a Constituent Assembly would be an entirely negative phenomenon for a society that lived for so long in the lawless conditions of communist totalitarianism.

The DPR Secretariat expressed concern at the growth of political confrontation in society and the increasing erosion of centrist forces, which is the result of the efforts of propresidential forces, on the one hand, and procommunist and pronationalist forces, on the other.

## Deputies Urged To Leave 'Rotten Body'

*PM0405154393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 May 93 First Edition p 2*

["Statement by 'Independent Civic Initiative': On the Obvious and the Imminent"]

[Text] We, least of all, are inclined to view the political problems which have emerged since the referendum one-dimensionally or simplistically. The hardest thing of all is to find a means of adopting a new Constitution which would not once again be flimsy [verkhyshechnyy] and adapted to suit current circumstances. It is clear that this very method will affect the nature of the future power system (and, consequently, the character of Russia's socioeconomic development too) no less than the details of the constitutional laws. However, it is impossible to embark on confident progress toward a policy radically new in style and thinking if the presidential authority and the deputies, who consider themselves democrats, show a lack of resolve and consistency even in steps which are imminent and obvious.

Irrespective of attitudes to the person and the motives of N.I. Travkin, the action that he was the first to undertake in giving up his deputy's seat immediately after the referendum can only be acknowledged as sober and correct. In actual fact: If almost two-thirds of the voters who went to the polls (this figure was a little higher in many major cities) deemed the Congress of People's Deputies obsolete and devoid of legitimacy, and if in response the Supreme Soviet—that is, the offspring and extension of that same Congress—tries to launch an offensive against parliamentary committees disobedient to the communists and nationalists, against television, and against Russia's solidarity with the world community, then any "tactical" moves motivated by the Congress' and the Supreme Soviet's apparently still feasible loyalty in respect of the reforms and the referendum results would be simply a waste of valuable time.

In general, the continuation of the game of Soviet parliamentarism and even simply participation in an imaginary "representative" power are tantamount to squandering once again a democratic victory and to causing disappointment among the voters in those to whom they gave their support on credit, and, probably, for the last time.

It is our belief that all deputies to whom Travkin's accusations regarding their attachment to the "trough" do not apply should surrender their mandates resolutely and immediately. These deputies are in no position to cite any arguments about "tactics," in other words the political advantages of continuing their participation in the Congress and the Supreme Soviet. They are virtually never given the floor. Their pitiful presence merely serves to authenticate the legitimacy of the mob rejected at the referendum. It is necessary to move away, to switch to the side of the majority of those who voted, to do the right thing, to stress in the eyes of the whole population that the era of phony Soviet "constitutionalism" has gone, and it is time to hasten toward a real democratic parliament.

Leave, Gentlemen, and have no more part in a rotten body, in deceit.

But you, on the contrary, are suddenly calling for the convocation of an extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet, yet another extraordinary Congress, and so on, to make them see reason, come to their senses, and take measures against the culprits in the 1 May violence... Deliberate, unnecessary political gestures.

We will allow that it is possible to debate further over the departure of the democratic deputies, but blood was shed 1 May. After this, we think, "tactical" arguments are finished.

The Supreme Soviet Press Service, with its usual effrontery, leveled accusations at the militia against whom (after all, we all saw this over and over again with our own eyes!) the frenzied crowd launched their attack, incited and driven on by criminal ringleaders who included deputies from this very same Supreme Soviet. In the wake of the 1 May events in Moscow, that honest people in Khasbulatov's Soviet should ultimately do nothing is also shameful.

Communist and national-demagogic instigators continue to pose a threat. Openly, and publicly from the television screens. This is the mandatory element of a well-known old tactic. They seek through street battles to confirm their impunity and their significance. They hope to provoke either reciprocal weakness from the administration (as has already been the case) or "heroic" victims from their own ranks. What they need is some kind of Soviet Horst Wessel.

As for the executive and the judiciary, we demand:

1. The immediate amendment, as envisaged by the Criminal Procedural Code, of restrictions imposed on those members of the SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency] who participated directly in the rowdy disturbances of 1 May—Lukyanov, Kryuchkov, Yanayev (who knows who else was there?). Their period at liberty while still facing charges in the given circumstances is unlawful and socially dangerous to the highest degree.

2. That all political instigators behind the gunmen and the hooligans without deputies' immunity, like Zyuganov and so on, be detained in connection with the 1 May disturbances and that their organization be disbanded.

3. As for hooligan deputies like Anpilov, Konstantinov, and others, it is necessary to demand that they be deprived of their immunity. Of course, the "Soviets" will reject this. After all, that will accelerate the historical end of the "Soviets."

In fact, unless President Yeltsin and the entire executive and judiciary act very firmly and quickly, the political responsibility for deaths which may occur on Victory Day will lie with them. And the real result of the referendum in general will be placed in doubt.

[Signed] Members of the "Independent Civic Initiative" group: Sergey Averintsev, Leonid Batkin, Vladimir Bibler, Yuriy Burtin, Kronid Lyubarskiy, Lev Timofeyev

## Passport, Visa Chief on Current Problems

*PM0505092193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Apr 93 First Edition p 7*

[Report by Igor Andreyev on interview with Militia Major General R. Kuznetsov, chief of the Russian Internal Affairs Ministry Passport and Visa Service: "Exit and Entry Permitted. But on a Passport"]

[Text] The very long list of items in short supply in Russia has been joined by another: Without a new-style passport every citizen's legally declared right to go abroad is meaningless.

The passport and visa apparatus is groaning under the strain. People are joining lines in the middle of the night to see inspectors and are adding their names to lists drawn up by goodness knows whom. Any number of free forms immediately disappears from passport and visa registration department desks, to reappear—for money this time—among the waiting crowd. The most impatient and well-to-do fix themselves up with passports by having recourse to the services of numerous firms that actually place advertisements in the press and on television promising to immediately draw up documents. The advertisement keeps quiet about the charge, of course, but a call is sufficient to establish that it runs to tens or even hundreds of dollars.

What is happening in the passport office? For the umpteenth time in recent months militia Major General Rudolf Kuznetsov, chief of the Russian Internal Affairs Ministry Passport and Visa Service, answers IZVESTIYA's questions on the subject.

In his view, today's problems are rooted in the recent past, when, after the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted the entry and exit law in May 1991, no one high up in the state sphere lifted a finger to actually implement it, but even then the intention was to strengthen the clearly inadequate personnel of the union organs of the visa and registration department by providing 6,700 new staff. Since the Russian apparatus was in the most parlous state, it was planned to supply an extra 4,000 staff. The government decree issued in January, actually after the entry and exit law came into effect in Russia, also instructed the Finance Ministry to beef up the cadres and provide funds to reequip the passport office. And although the Internal Affairs Ministry and Security Ministry confirmed their requests and proposals to the Finance Ministry there has not yet even been a draft decision on the problem.

As a result the same visa and registration department as years ago, equipped with pens, typewriters, and loose-leaf binders, is tackling the heaps of citizens' passport applications. An on-line computer link with Internal Affairs Ministry and Security Ministry data banks, which is necessary in order to be able to rapidly check whether citizens have a criminal record or are in possession of state secrets, is only a dream at the moment.

The visa and registration department is also in a flap owing to the strenuous activities of numerous tourist firms. R. Kuznetsov said that it had been agreed with 11 leading firms that during the transitional period they would put together tourist groups and present the documents in good time. Not a bit of it, they are still demanding that passports be supplied in no time at all, although, by law, all papers have to be presented at least one month in advance. Mention the law, and you get pressure from every quarter.

As a typical instance of increased pressure in an already difficult period, General Kuznetsov cited the attack on the visa and registration department by the Rostov joint-stock company "Rostovturist." Not a day has gone by in March and April when Yerin, Shokhin, and Chernomyrdin have not received telegrams to the effect that the oblast internal affairs administration had "suspended the drawing up of foreign travel documents under the old scheme for tourist organizations." So the oblast budget loses 200 million rubles [R] in March and April (what are the tourist firms making, then!), 6,000 (!) tourist firm staff are left without work, you have a "complex political situation in the oblast, aggravated by people's trips abroad being delayed," and there is a shortage of passport application forms...

In fact, R. Kuznetsov commented, the shortage of forms and willfulness of the local visa and registration department are not the problem at all. In his view, it is time the local administration itself, rather than the Internal Affairs Ministry central apparatus decided exactly which tourist firms should be given the right to do the work. But the administration, as if reluctant to spoil any relationship, is avoiding tackling the problem and is asking Moscow to approve a list of tourist firms to act as agents.

As for the allegedly scarce passport forms, Rudolf Alekseyevich cited the following figures on numbers sent to

the provinces. By 1 April around 40,000 had been sent to Rostov Oblast. In all, Russian visa and registration departments received 1.85 million forms in the first quarter. Some 3.6 million will be sent in the second quarter, three million in the third, and three million in the fourth.. It is physically impossible to process such a quantity of forms—over 10 million in 1993.

Of course, R. Kuznetsov said, because of passport departments' limited capabilities tourist firms are having real problems sending groups abroad with foreign partners, who are demanding that contract commitments be met. This is true, but there is something else as well. Passports are being prepared on a large scale, in the guise of tourism, for people who have no intention at the moment of traveling with groups. They prefer to lay out large sums in rubles or hard currency, rather than wait for ages outside the visa and registration department. Obviously, the wave of people who will not wait their turn holds things up for law-abiding citizens who applied to the department without trying any hocus-pocus.

Organizations which send staff abroad at such short notice that they require passports to be prepared in a matter of days, despite the notice required by law, are also a trial. But tours, for example, are certainly planned in advance. For example, according to R. Kuznetsov, he received a telegram from the Russian ambassador in a European country: The "Russkiye Zori" ensemble has failed to arrive. Where was the collective coming from? The message said "Moscow—Voronezh"... A call was made to Voronezh. Apparently, "Russkiye Zori" applied to the visa and registration department on 13 April and on the morning of 15 April they all had passports.

Major General Kuznetsov is aware that all is not well in his department. The staff are very rude and dismissive of visitors. He describes the unfortunately common suggestion that a visitor leave the office—can't you see I'm busy!—as a manifestation of the old militia style. It is particularly evident in Moscow, according to Rudolf Alekseyevich.

## Economic Issues

### Chernomyrdin Appoints Economic Adviser

*MK0405104093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 4 May 93 p 2*

[Nikolay Podlipskiy report under "New Appointments in Russian Council of Ministers" rubric: "Viktor Chernomyrdin's Personal Economist Appointed"]

[Text] Viktor Chernomyrdin continues to form his own information and analysis service, independent of the fairly cumbersome government apparatus. After the operational information service was set up, the analysis and planning group under the government chairman was established, headed by Andrey Illarionov, former leader of the Working Center for Economic Reforms. As promised in our 30 April issue, KOMMERSANT-DAILY comments on this appointment today.

The Working Center for Economic Reforms under the Russian Government, which Illarionov headed with Sergey Vasilyev, was set up by Yegor Gaydar in 1992. The main aim of setting up this structure was the government's desire to have a skilled analytical and statistical center that also was somewhat independent of government members' economic views. West European experts such as Anders Aslund and Richard Layard were recruited to carry out this work at the center.

The best-known document prepared by the Center for Economic Reforms' specialists was the medium-term "Program for Deepening Economic Reforms," adopted by the government last 30 June and still formally in effect.

Apart from that, the center's staffers played a leading role in elaborating the 1992 anticrisis program and in putting together the government's action plan for 1993.

Unlike the Center for Economic Reforms, whose personnel underwent practically no changes in connection with the December change of government, the analysis and planning group under the head of cabinet was set up by Chernomyrdin to replace the abolished office of adviser under Gaydar. Most of the former premier's dismissed advisers transferred to vice premiers' apparatuses and the Economic Problems of the Transitional Period Institute.

Illarionov thus has to head an extremely small collective formed by Chernomyrdin himself and designed to provide analytical support for the undertakings of a premier not too well-versed in the intricacies of macroeconomics. At the same time, this group, which was set up under the government chairman and which does not have any public channels for disseminating the results of its work—unlike the Center for Economic Reforms, which regularly held briefings and published reports of various kinds—can be under no illusion that the opinion of the scientists working in it will be heard by the public at large should there be substantial divergences from the premier's personal opinion.

### Government, Trade Unions Agree on 1993 Interaction

*LD0405165293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1609 GMT 4 May 93*

[Text] Moscow May 4 TASS—First Russian Vice-Premier Vladimir Shumeyko has sent to ITAR-TASS today the text of a 1993 general agreement between the All-Russian Trade Union Associations, the All-Russia Employers Associations and the government.

The sides, which signed the document on the basis of the law "on collective treaties and agreements", have set the following goals and tasks:

- to prevent the production recession, enhance state regulation of stabilization of the social-economic situation, form market relations and develop labor and enterprise activities;

- to hold an active employment policy;

- to reduce the gap between prices and revenues, ensure incentives of efficient labor;

- to ensure the protection of labor and health of employees and ecological safety of the population.

The document was signed by head of the Russian Independent Trade Unions' Federation, chairmen of branch trade unions, non-affiliated trade union organizations, including civil aviation pilots; heads of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs, the Union of Entrepreneurs and Lease-holders, the Agro-Industrial Union, the League of Industrialists and Goods-Producers and other associations.

The agreement is supplemented with a detailed list of specific arrangements to implement the agreement with the index of responsible ministries and departments and terms of the agreement fulfillment.

### Government Session 29 Apr Decisions Reported

*PM0405153393 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 30 Apr 93 p 2*

[Boris Pashkov report: "What the Council of Ministers Decided"]

[Text] The Russian Federation Government noted that the strategic course of reforming the economy in the country is understood and supported by the population, as shown by the results of the all-Russian referendum. The reforms have gathered strength and have become irreversible.

At the same time, given the mistakes made in implementing economic reform and the negative consequences which, together with other factors, have considerably exacerbated the social and economic crisis, the government deemed it necessary to make certain changes to certain areas of economic policy and the tactics of implementing reform.

The essence of these changes, which were begun by the government's action plan to implement economic reform in 1993, lies in strengthening the reform course and in moving toward balanced and realistic solutions which take account of the increased social thrust of policy, the galvanization and streamlining of monetary and credit relations and anti-inflationary policy, improvements to the running of the state sector of the economy, and changes in structural policy, with more coordinated and active operations by central organs and executive organs in the republics comprising the Russian Federation, the krays, oblasts, and autonomous formations, and the cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg.

The key avenues, support for which at all levels will make it possible to ensure the "survivability" of the Russian economy in the transitional period and simultaneously to move toward the economic structure which will be needed in the future, have already been defined.

The government has determined that the main criterion for the measures being carried out to further reform the economy is the stabilization of the living standards enjoyed by the country's population. It has given instructions for draft laws on pay regulation, on minimum living requirements, and a number of other issues to be drawn up and submitted to the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet. It is planned to finalize the federal program for promoting employment opportunities for the country's population in the very near future.

The government intends to continue, in conjunction with the Central Bank of the Russian Federation and executive organs in Federation components, to consistently implement a range of practical measures ensuring consistent progress toward financial stabilization, the reduction of the budget deficit and the availability of credit, the curbing of inflation, the normalization of the money supply, and the strengthening of the ruble. To this end, it has been deemed necessary to fundamentally restructure the budget system, to enhance the effective functioning of the tax system, to strengthen monetary and credit policy, and to adopt urgent measures to improve enterprises' system of settlements and the regulation of their reciprocal commitments.

Specific decisions have been made on running the economy and privatization. The Russian State Committee for the Management of State Property has been specifically instructed to clarify a number of fundamental normative acts aimed at taking account in the course of privatization of the features of enterprises and their role in restructuring, and at strengthening the social guarantees for working people during privatization.

The government has instructed Russian Federation ministries and departments, guided by the decree adopted 12 April "On State Selective Structural Policy in 1993," to start work aimed at regulating, within the limits of investment resources at federal level, the most economically important structural changes as applied to specific enterprises. It is envisaged that new structures such as investment funds, corporations, associations, and concerns will be involved in this work. The main emphasis will be placed on the most efficient enterprises in the fuel and energy complex, oil refining, petrochemicals, transportation, communications and telecommunications, and enterprises undergoing conversion. Priority has also been given to housing construction, as well as to science, which shapes the country's potential for innovation.

The Russian Federation Government—taking account of the unsatisfactory state with regard to export shipments for state needs and purchases of critical imports needed to solve the most acute social problems and urgent production tasks—has instructed the Ministry for

Foreign Economic Relations, together with other ministries and departments, to take measures to unconditionally ensure that priority is given to shipments of goods for state needs. Emphasis has been placed on stabilizing the work of the agro-industrial complex, the production of foodstuffs and nonfood goods, and construction of housing, hospitals, and schools.

Measures have been defined for organizing economic ties, bringing about financial stabilization, and reducing inflation.

The Russian Federation Committee on Prices has been instructed, in conjunction with the Russian Federation State Committee on Anti-Monopoly and Support of the New Economic Structures, to elaborate and submit to the Russian Federation Government proposals on the main principles of pricing policy for this year and 1994. Decisions on the questions of the main avenues of the government's regional policy in accordance with the provisions of the Federation Treaty were examined and, in the main, approved.

### New Approach to Privatization Urged

*PM0405134993 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 30 Apr 93 p 2*

[Sergey Fateyev and Aleksandr Tyurin article: "Privatization: End of the Plant..."]

[Text] We are continuing publication of a series of articles on the present state of the Russian economy prepared by the International "Reform" Fund. The first piece based on the fund's research ("The Grass Is Greener on the Other Side") was published in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA for 22 April. Today we publish the second.

Property has always been a sore point everywhere and will continue to be so. It is no accident that there are so many arguments over privatization: It is a very complex process affecting the interests of practically all Russian citizens. It is all the more important to have access to reliable information on its progress. But we have basically been forced to rely on information obtained from the department with the greatest interest in this—the State Committee for the Management of State Property. This information can satisfy few people as the figures often contradict one another, are adduced only occasionally, and you can only form some kind of general impression based on them.

For example, the State Committee for the Management of State Property claims that by the beginning of this year 36 percent of retail trade enterprises and 34.5 percent of wholesale trade enterprises, 21.7 percent of public catering enterprises, and 39.8 percent of everyday service enterprises had been transferred to private ownership. The Economy Ministry provides different data: Only 11 percent of enterprises in retail trade, 3.2 percent in public catering, and 8.7 percent of enterprises providing everyday services have been privatized. Differing from the figures of the Economy Ministry, though not by much, the figures of the State Committee for Statistics for the beginning of November last year are respectively 7.7, 2.7, and 6.5 percent. The differences in the figures given by different departments may be explained simply: The State Committee for the Management of State Property wishes to be as close as possible to the quantitative indicators set by the State Privatization Program for 1992.

As a result of the privatization of state enterprises, the budget received 49 billion rubles [R], although it was planned that R72 billion would be received at the end of 1991. This is even though money has become greatly devalued over the past year due to inflation. The reason for this is that facilities are being sold off for a song and in addition the most valuable ones are being paid for with vouchers bought up from the population at prices two to three times lower than their face value.

In themselves the figures concerning the progress of privatization demonstrate little: In the end you can always say that people have prevented things from developing as they should, that they did not have time to do something, etc. However, even the first steps toward destatizing property show that they are not reaching the goals set in the privatization program. Let me remind you of these goals: To form a stratum of private owners, increase the efficiency of enterprises' activities, provide the population with social protection, promote financial stability, create a competitive atmosphere, attract foreign investment, and create a base for increasing the scale of privatization in the coming years. It is easy to see that only two goals have been achieved, and those only in part: A stratum of owners has begun to emerge, and some groundwork has been done for privatization in the next few years.

There has been no increase in efficiency: Production continues to fall. You cannot talk about social protection for the population or promotion of stabilization of the financial situation. No competitive environment existed, nor has one emerged. We also have not seen any significant foreign investment—investors are not flocking to us in this unstable situation. In short, privatization has not achieved the goals it was set. Moreover, the government's actions have to a large extent compromised privatization in the eyes of the people.

Still, there are nevertheless changes for the better. As of the end of last year there were 950,000 new economic formations in Russia which are already employing 16 million people, that is, 22 percent of the total number in employment! True, many of the new economic structures have been created from scratch and have not appeared in the course of privatization. The populace has grasped the concept of private property, and the economic education of broad strata has begun—this is in itself a great achievement. A normative basis has appeared in the form of many laws, edicts, regulations etc.; the monopoly of state property has begun to be overcome. There can be a gradual transition to genuine,

secondary privatization, during which facilities should be transferred into the hands of real owners. At the moment the majority of them are the property of labor collectives.

It is a bad thing that privatization began late, in conditions of inflation, disruption of economic ties, a general worsening in enterprises' situation, and social and political instability. The government attempted to carry out this most complex of tasks in an extremely short time using the usual (and very limited) range of methods. Therefore the main goal of raising economic efficiency was not achieved.

Real privatization in this country will take more than one year, which means there is a need for a long-term program. Privatization should turn into a process with a natural development and we should cancel plans concerning deadlines and the scale of privatization. Neither restraint nor administrative acceleration will allow it to be carried out effectively. Only forms of privatization which are not in the interests of the whole nation should be banned. There should be far more types of privatization for large enterprises: Let there be leased, mixed, and state-private forms, and in certain cases collectives or entrepreneurs could buy out enterprises. It is important that every act of privatization produce economic results.

It is definitely necessary to do something about vouchers. Some people consider that this campaign has failed. You cannot unequivocally say whether this is the case. The fact that the process of introducing vouchers was ill conceived from the outset is obvious. This concept, which was in itself contentious, nevertheless became fact, and it is probably now impossible to give up completely the policy of using checks. But we could introduce some amendments: allow the privatization not only of housing and land for checks but also of small enterprises, including municipal enterprises. We could extend the validity of checks so that people really had a choice of how to use them—there is at present no choice, as there is no securities market. There is also a series of other proposals.

What will happen in the future to privatization in Russia? There are two basic scenarios. The first assumes a continuation in the present policy, as a result of which the interests of the state and a large section of the population will be infringed. Many privatized enterprises will come to a stop. After a series of scandals "voucherization" will come to nothing.

The second scenario assumes a strengthening of the state's influence. A partial moratorium is declared on "large-scale" privatization and the transformation of the state sector in industry proceeds largely via the formation of concerns and transnational corporations. In this way the problem of the joint use of a series of facilities in nearby foreign parts is resolved. The state creates a system of concessions and state guarantees to attract investors. The state cannot withdraw from privatization, otherwise privatization will go against the nation's interests to the advantage of certain narrow social groups.

## Statistics Suggest Reform Starting To Work

*PM0405140993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Apr 93 First Edition p 4*

[Article by Otto Latsis: "Voters' Attitudes Were Influenced by the Trend Toward Economic Recovery"]

[Text] The unexpected (as far as the opposition was concerned) result of the vote on the second question, which made the question a trap for its authors, would not have been so unexpected had the opponents of the reforms placed less confidence in their own rhetoric and studied the objective processes in the national economy more closely.

Russian State Committee for Statistics data have been refuting for some months the claims of general decay, collapse, and impoverishment. Today there is every justification for talking about conflicting trends of decline and growth, about an increase in the number of growth points.

For example, here are the data on average daily industrial production since the start of the market reforms, that is, since January 1992 (in percentages of the previous quarter). First quarter of 1992—98; second quarter—96; third quarter—80; fourth quarter—100; first quarter of 1993—102. In other words, having reached a low point in the third quarter of 1992, industrial production stopped declining (which, incidentally, accords more or less with the so-called "promises," or, to be more accurate, forecasts, given prior to the start of the reforms).

The tendency to reduce sowings, which had been apparent for some years, stopped in agriculture in 1992. Between 1985 and 1991 sown areas of grain crops and potatoes were cut by 10 percent, sugar beet areas by six percent, and vegetables by two percent; in 1992 there was no reduction in the sown area in general and the sown area of grain crops in particular. The adjusted gross grain harvest was 106.9 million tonnes, which is 20 percent above the 1991 result and two percent above the average annual level for 1986-1990. As a result of last year's harvest Russia has much more grain this year than last.

Commissioning of housing in the first quarter of 1993 was 102 percent compared with the first quarter of 1992. The slump in this sphere, which occurred mainly during 1991, was halted at a very low level: 53 percent compared with the first quarter of 1990. The corresponding indicators for the commissioning of schools (113 and 83 percent) and hospitals (3.3 times more and 124 percent) are much better. The amount of individual housing construction in the last quarter was 111 percent compared with the corresponding period last year, and cooperative housing construction was 123 percent.

Inflation is retreating, with enormous reluctance. The consumer prices index for a fixed selection of goods and services for the first three months of this year was as follows: January—127 percent; February—126 percent; March—121 percent (in all cases compared with the previous month). The extensive list of data cited by the State Committee for Statistics on the population's consumption of specific food products and nonfood commodities indicates a marked increase compared with the first quarter of last year, but the level of consumption generally remains at a lower level compared with 1989-1991.

Exports of goods from Russia in March were slightly up and in the first quarter slightly down on the corresponding period last year, but as a result of a sharp reduction in imports over the quarter a foreign trade credit balance of $3.2 billion was achieved.

The crisis is far from over, of course, because the decline continues in a number of vitally important spheres. Most alarming, perhaps, are the situation in livestock raising, the spring sowing preparations, which are worse than last year, and the continuing decline of fuel and energy resources production. In most cases this is the result of long-term negative processes due to the nonmarket character of economic mechanisms in past years. The slump in livestock raising was due primarily to the crisis in large livestock-raising complexes and poultry farms, which were set up more often then not without provision of land and with the intention of obtaining feed from state resources, primarily through imports. The "meat factories" devoured the most accessible Siberian oil and other raw material resources and stopped when this wealth was spent. The decline in the coal industry was due primarily to the fact that capacities for the production of 56 million tonnes of coal were taken out of operation in 1989-1991 and capacities to produce only 18 million tonnes were introduced. Largely similar processes have taken place in the oil industry.

Finally, some data on the social sphere. Statisticians reckon that the minimum living standard topped 8,000 rubles [R] in March. Around one-third of the population of Russia had average per capita incomes below this level. That is a large number, horrifically large, but it is not the general poverty that the opposition is shouting about. Families with children under six, families with two children under 16, families with three and more children, some nonworking pensioners, and invalids are in the most difficult situation. These categories of the population need specific assistance.

The average pay of working people in the national economy in March, according to preliminary figures, was R22,000, which is 17 percent more than the previous month.

The situation remains difficult in the production sphere and life remains hard for most Russians, but hysterical denials of the of the efficacy of the reforms will not help rectify matters. The only things that will do that are a sober analysis of the actual situation and considered actions on the basis of that analysis. That is evidently what the voters thought when they made their choice on the basis of an evaluation of their own experience.

## First Quarter Exports Up, Imports 'Considerably' Down

*PM0405154793 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 4 May 93 p 2*

[Yuriy Popov report under the "Foreign Trade" rubric: "How Are We To Manage Foreign Economic Relations"]

[Text] How do our exports look during this first quarter? Compared with the same period last year, they have risen 3.4 percent to reach $6.7 billion. Shipments of ores and concentrates abroad are up 7 percent, oil—51 percent, gas—23.9 percent, sawn timber—about 90 percent, and ferroalloys—almost 60 percent. At the same time sales of coal and petroleum products have dropped by over 50 percent and sales of textiles, aluminum, machines, and equipment by almost the same amount.

Imports have dropped considerably—almost 55 percent—to reach $3.47 billion. We bought only 21.6 percent of the amount of meat that Russia received from abroad during the first three months of 1992, and this figure stood at 14 percent for poultry, 5.5 percent for coffee, and 11.2 percent for tea. Admittedly, sugar purchases have risen slightly—by 2 percent—as have purchases of fresh and dried citrus fruits.

This drop is due to at least two factors: By the beginning of the year the order-specific lines of credit that would have enabled us to acquire the requisite quantity of foodstuffs had not been properly reviewed, while the value added tax collection regulations also changed during the fist few months of the year—first the tax was introduced, then it was revoked for contracts signed prior to 1 January this year. But there is still an acute problem with regard to those signed after that date, due to the very low ruble exchange rate.

You would have thought that things were quite fine as far as the balance of trade was concerned. But, given the current drop in national commodity production, shortages of these commodities are rocketing and foodstores are emptying.

These are the figures that the government has to bear in mind when deciding what to do next. Clearly, one is distinctly conscious of the need for a mechanism to implement normative acts within the system of regulating foreign relations. We cannot after all rely on energy sources alone. Last year they represented over half our exports, while during the past first quarter they had already topped 60 percent. Sooner or later we will have to stop this dangerous slide.

One thing is plain: It is time to find methods, in line with the market and the period of transition, to manage production and foreign economic relations.

### Conference Plans To Boost Agricultural Machine Building

*PM0405153993 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 4 May 93 p 2*

[Anatoliy Diordiyenko report under the "Countryside" rubric: "New Machine Building Sector Set Up"]

[Text] The provision of equipment for agriculture and processing enterprises is currently at the level of the seventies. The agro-industrial complex now receives one-half to two-thirds less agricultural equipment compared with 1985.

That was the grim picture painted by participants in a conference held 28 April with Aleksandr Zaveryukha, deputy chairman of the Russian Government. It conducted a preliminary discussion of the federal state program for the development of machine building for the agro-industrial complex.

This program is designed to be implemented over the period through 1998. In accordance with the program Russian industry should by then be producing 970 named pieces of agricultural machinery and 2,400 named pieces of equipment for the processing industry.

It is in effect a question of creating a new machine building sector in Russia for the agro-industrial complex. Any enterprises can take part on a competitive basis in implementing this ambitious program, which will require several trillion rubles.

### Number of Private Farmers Increases to 23,000

*LD0405155893 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1400 GMT 4 May 93*

[Text] This year private farmers will cultivate 5 percent of Russia's agricultural land. Many of them do not have enough land. Contrary to misgivings that many of the holdings that were set up last year would be ruined and go out of existence, the number of peasant holdings in Russia, according to State Statistics Committee data, has grown even more in the first quarter of this year than during the same period last year. There are 230,000 private farmers in Russia today.

### 'Insignificant' Number of Science Workers Join Brain Drain

*PM0405130993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Apr 93 First Edition p 15*

[Unattributed report: "Scientists Requalify as Businessmen and Politicians"]

[Text] According to the figures of the Russian Federation State Committee for Statistics, by the start of this year over 2 million people were employed in science and in its servicing, which is 27 percent fewer than in 1990.

The numerical strength of those working in academic science has declined by 24 percent, of those working in sectorial science by 30.4 percent, and of those working in higher education science by 11. 8 percent. In 1992 every seventh worker left scientific organizations through redundancy. The largest proportion of redundancies is in sectorial science (21 percent).

The demographic and qualification and job profile of workers in science has changed substantially. As a rule it is the younger ones who leave through redundancy or at their own wish. The workers are aging and their qualities are declining in proportion to the outflow. The proportion of women of pre-pension age with now scientific degree is increasingly markedly in the structure of scientific cadres.

A similar situation took place in the Russian Federation's science in 1986-1987 when for the first time in decades the increase in the numerical strength of those employed in science and scientific services was less than 1 percent. In 1992 this trend increased drastically and by the end of the year their numbers had declined by over 20 percent. And as a whole in 1986 through 1992 the number of workers in the research sector declined by 1.142 million. The decline in science compared with 1986 is about 30 percent now and in 1992 it became rapid, close to the critical levels beyond which negative hypermobility begins. The retention of this tendency for one or two years threatens to undermine the foundations of the reproduction of Russia's scientific potential.

The number of workers in science and national education who emigrated in 1992 was in excess of 3,500. As an experiment the state committee for statistics and the Russian Federation Ministry of Internal Affairs have introduced a number of additional elements to statistical forms for emigration. A special analysis of these forms in June 1992 showed that 5,420 people left Russia that month. Fifty-four percent of emigres had complete and incomplete higher and secondary specialized education. There were 47 scientific workers (1 percent) and of these just six had a scientific degree.

Thus the proportion of the loss to science through emigration in 1992 is insignificant and consequently the acuteness of the problem of the "brain drain" abroad is not that great right now. The main outflow of cadres from science is going into entrepreneurship, private business, and the organs of state management.

## Military Issues

### Defense Minister Grachev Presents Awards to Veterans

*LD0405133193 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1200 GMT 4 May 93*

[Text] A meeting of Great Patriotic War veterans of the first war took place in Moscow today. They laid flowers at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier at the Kremlin Wall. In the Central Museum of Armed Forces, Russian

Federation Defense Minister Pavel Grachev presented veterans with awards and valuable gifts.

### Cited on Victory Holiday

*PM0505084593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 May 93 p 1*

[Report by Feliks Semyanovskiy: "Russian Federation Defense Minister Army General Pavel Grachev Has Met with Veterans"]

[Text] On the eve of the first anniversary of the Russian Army a meeting of Great Patriotic War veterans organized by the board of the "War Veterans for Peace" movement and the Moscow center of war and armed forces veterans was held at the Central Museum of the Armed Forces.

Taking part in its work was Russian Federation Defense Minister Army General Pavel Grachev, who warmly congratulated the gathering on the forthcoming victory holiday and stressed that the Russian Army servicemen are following their traditions of honest, selfless fulfillment of their martial duty.

### Border Guard Deputy Commander on Border Law

*PM0505091993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 May 93 p 2*

[Interview with Major General Anatoliy Parakhin, first deputy commander of the Russian Border Troops, by Sergey Nagayev: "No Iron Curtain for Us"]

[Text] The border guards have been looking forward to the Law "On the Russian Federation State Border" published in ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA today (pages 4-6). What will change with the adoption of the law? The question is answered by Major General Anatoliy Parakhin, first deputy commander of the Russian Border Troops:

"Since the breakup of the USSR we have tried consistently to maintain 'transparent' borders, wherever possible, but history follows its own laws. Bilateral commissions to formalize state borders under international law with the countries of the Baltic area have already been set up and are functioning. Preparations are being made to set up similar commissions with the Georgian and Azerbaijani sides. Ukraine has repeatedly stated its intention to establish full-fledged state borders with Russia (and, incidentally, has already taken practical steps in that direction), so it can be assumed that the day is not far off when the commission to formalize Russian-Ukrainian frontiers will start operating. I would emphasize that in all cases Russia is only taking appropriate measures in response.

"The appearance of the law does not mean the immediate establishment, in the full sense of the word, of borders between the Russian Federation and neighbors in the former Union. It all depends on what the adjacent states want. Moreover, legal priority goes not to this law, but to Russia's international treaties with contiguous countries. Russia wants to be an open country."

## Supreme Soviet

### U.S. Senators Meet Committee for Defense, Security

*LD0405181493 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 4 May 93*

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Communists and ultra-nationalists are continuing their vigil in front of the Russian White House, but a large group of U.S. senators found its way through the main entrance into the empty building—empty because of the vacation. The delegation is headed by Sam Nunn, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee.

It took more than two and a half hours for the U.S. legislators to discuss with members of the Supreme Soviet Committee for Defense and Security the problem of ratifying the START-2 Treaty, Ukraine's position regarding this issue, and the situation in Yugoslavia.

[Begin recording] [S. Stepashin, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Committee for Defense and Security] On behalf of our committee we proposed a number of factors which go even beyond the framework of this treaty—a conceptual approach, as it were, necessary not only to ratify START-2, but also to define our positions with regard to subsequent problems of reducing strategic arms.

[Senator Nunn, in English with superimposed Russian translation] The present Supreme Soviet committee is altogether different from the one I had to deal with before. We have had a very useful, informative conversation and we will examine seriously all the proposals we have heard today. [end recording]

### 'Democratic' Deputies Call for Congress' Dissolution

*LD0405180793 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1700 GMT 4 May 93*

[Text] A meeting of people's deputies with a democratic orientation took place in the Kremlin today. Russia's people's deputies appealed to the people's deputies: We are the first people's deputies of Russia to have been freely elected in seven decades and we have done much to make the political and economic reforms in our country a reality. We have laid the foundation for a state based on the rule of law. In the past year, however, at the congresses and in the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation a conservative majority has formed which is against political reforms and large-scale privatization being carried out in the country and opposes the pursuit of a rigid financial policy aimed at limiting price increases. Extremist national-communist factions which are pushing Russia into the abyss of civil war have gained the upper hand in the parliament.

We are calling for the congress to dissolve itself and for the holding of early elections to a bicameral parliament. The congress should cease to exist in a natural, peaceful way and free the way for a professional parliament of Russia.

### Democratic Lawmakers Plan To Leave Congress Without Quorum

*LD0505110193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1056 GMT 5 May 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow May 5 TASS—Democratic lawmakers plan a mass resignation of people's deputies which would leave the congress without a quorum, however admit that it would be a difficult task to accomplish.

Member of the Coalition of Reforms parliamentary group Lev Ponomaryov told reporters on Wednesday that sixty lawmakers conferred on Tuesday and many of them are ready to step down as people's deputies. Ponomaryov himself plans to step down as parliament member, but will retain the mandate of a people's deputy for the time being.

To deny the congress a quorum it is necessary that 350 deputies step down, however, only 200 of them are intended to adopt such a decision, according to Sergey Yuschenkov, first deputy head of the Federal Information Centre.

The Coalition of Reforms plans to win over the necessary 150 deputies at a special meeting of legislators in the middle of May.

The coalition supported the decision of Nikolay Travkin, the leader of the Democratic Party, to step down as a people's deputy, but said the move should be a collective one. Single resignations only play into the hands of the conservative parliament and congress which, in the absence of democratic legislators, will unite in their anti-presidential struggle.

### Dissolution of Parliament Committee Viewed

*PM0405115593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Apr 93 First Edition p 8*

[Article by Sergey Chugayev: "Russian Parliament Leadership Has Embarked on Abolition of Dissident Committees"]

[Text] The decision made 28 April by the Russian Supreme Soviet to abolish its economic reform committee cannot claim to be sensational. What the parliamentary bolsheviks had been talking about for a long time had come to pass. What was perhaps unexpected was the fact that it was this committee which opened the list of Supreme Soviet subdivisions subject to repression. By the logic of things the committee for the mass media should have been in its place.

Actually, to all appearances it does not have long to wait for a decision on its fate. The committee on human rights and very likely the committee on legislation are also waiting in line.

The official pretext for the dissolution of these committees, to judge by the precedent of the economic reform committee, will be the declaration that their work is inefficient, while the prestige of these parliamentary formations is quite high both inside and outside the Supreme Soviet. Of course, it is no longer a secret to anyone that the real reason for persecuting the committees is the failure of the political views of the majority of their members to coincide with the general line which has been pursued increasingly persistently in recent months by the Supreme Soviet's formal and informal leadership. That is being stated openly both at sessions and in the corridors.

It seems more important to understand why it was immediately as the referendum results became known that the Supreme Soviet leadership set about implementing its long-since elaborated plan of repression against dissenting legislator colleagues. The first answer would seem to be on the surface—we have before us an attempt to vent anger at losing the referendum on those whom they have not yet managed to reach, their own colleagues, following the principle of "beating up your own people so that strangers are afraid." But considering the seriousness of the people who joined the Supreme Soviet leadership after the Ninth Congress (they convincingly displayed this seriousness on the eve of the referendum, promptly mounting a massive antipresidential campaign) this human entirely understandable motive can hardly be considered the main one.

On the other hand there are no grounds for supposing that the Supreme Soviet's leaders and its communist majority are so naive and hope, by shaking up the committees they dislike, to regulate the command of the Russian economy and mass media. Even before the referendum only a few oblasts were fulfilling the Supreme Soviet instructions to block the privatization program and introduce oversight councils on radio and television, dismiss the president's representatives, and so forth. We can hardly expect the results of the referendum to impel the federal and regional organs of power to fulfill the Supreme Soviet's directives more punctiliously. The examples of Chelyabinsk and Novosibirsk, where decisions on banning voucher auctions have been repealed, attest, rather, to the opposite tendency. And it must be imagined the Supreme Soviet leaders understand this very well.

Thus it seems to me the only point in driving out the democrats and deputies who sympathize with the president from the parliamentary structures, and that is the ultimate aim of the dissolution of the committees, is to turn the Supreme Soviet into a unified, discipline, single-ideology system excluding within itself the very possibility of dissent and differences. A system with a strict hierarchy whose top echelons should be occupied by

comrades exclusively devoted to the cause and tested in work. In brief, there is an obvious analogy with the CPSU Central Committee. The general secretary is the speaker, the politburo is the presidium, the departments are the committees, the plenum is the parliament, the congress is the congress.

This system, as the experience of the CPSU shows, is ideally adapted to elaborate unequivocal and purposeful decisions in its top echelons since all the elaborators—from the speaker to the committee leaders—must act in a single front. The approval of their decisions in the lower echelons is guaranteed by the unanimous majority there. And after the dissolution of dissident committees such a system will be created in the Russian Supreme Soviet. Of course, in such a combat situation there is no need to speak of democratic principles.

Consequently, the struggle against the committees is not a manifestation of the post-referendum hysteria of the Supreme Soviet leadership but the purging and rallying of the ranks of the opponents of reforms. It remains to be ascertained why.

After the referendum results became known, the Supreme Soviet was faced with a choice—embarking on cooperation with the president who, like his policy, received convincing support from the people, or continuing the confrontation. To judge by the first decisions of the Supreme Soviet adopted this week, it has chosen the latter course. It would seem that after the slap in the face from the entire people the Supreme Soviet has neither the moral nor the physical potential to resist the Russians' will so clearly expressed. But we should obviously not overestimate the moral principles and underestimate the potential of those who now dictate policy in Russia's parliament. They are still capable of a lot. We cannot rule out that, following the example of historical predecessors, they may elaborate a maximum program and a minimum program.

It may be supposed that the maximum program is aimed at using every possible means to block the adoption of the new Constitution, drag out as long as possible the adoption of new legislation on elections in order to move early elections of the parliament at best to the spring of next year and in this time, considering that the impression made by the referendum will gradually begin to be erased from people's memories, to try to regain the lost positions and, who knows, move to a counteroffensive against the president and the reforms. The minimum program probably provides for the intensive adoption, before the elections, of laws and normative acts which would create a reliable bridgehead for the development of an offensive on the reforms for those who after the election will take the banner from weakened hands. To embark on the implementation of such programs, it is, of course, sensible to guard oneself from the danger that at the decisive moment of the attack the words "But I am against it!" will be heard in the ranks. It is evidently for that reason that it is now that the process of abolishing dissident committees has begun in parliament.

## Regional Affairs

### Chechen Talks Continue; Some Agreement on Issues

*LD0405225493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2153 GMT 4 May 93*

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent Aleksandr Kharchenko]

[Text] Groznyy, 5 May—Talks between opponents and supporters of Chechen President Dzhokhar Dudayev continued in Groznyy on 4 May. "On the whole, the talks did not reach any constructive path," Abdul Bugayev, a member of the presidium of the headquarters of the opposition rally on Theater Square declared in an ITAR-TASS interview.

He added that "agreement was reached on important issues, but not the main ones; for example, ending the siege of the television, radio, and other media. A procedure has been determined for disarming people taking part in rallies. Protection of rallies is now entrusted to law-and-order bodies." But the main questions, Bugayev thinks, have been rejected by Dudayev's supporters.

### Rallies 'Winding Down'

*PM0505094193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 May 93 First Edition p 1*

[ITAR-TASS report: "Opposing Sides in Groznyy Talks"]

[Text] What are being described as "summit" talks between the opposition and supporters of Chechnya President Dzhokhar Dudayev have begun in Groznyy.

It has become known that the opposition has submitted 11 demands, including the rescinding of the presidential edicts on suspending parliament and also on introducing a curfew throughout the territory of the Chechen Republic. The talks are seen in Groznyy as a step toward the beginning of a truce. As for the rallies, Chechnya National Security Service Chairman Salaman Khasimikov believes that they are "gently winding down."

### New Speaker Opponent of Dudayev

*MK0505093493 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 4 May 93 p 9*

[Semen Ulyanich report: "Chechen Parliament's Speaker Retires. Yusup Soslanbekov Heads Chechen Deputies"]

[Excerpt] Khuseyn Akhmadov, who retired 1 May as chairman of the Chechen parliament, has been replaced by Yusup Soslanbekov, who previously headed the Chechen supreme legislative organ's foreign affairs committee. The election as speaker of Soslanbekov, who has been in opposition to the president since January 1992,

is being viewed by observers as parliament's demonstration of its intention to continue the confrontation with Dzhokhar Dudayev.

One deputy noted that Akhmadov, who relinquished his powers, pursued a policy of "fence straddling" and often took a position of appeasement in relation to the president, and in the struggle with the executive branch "advised against hurrying when in fact it was time to run." Evidently Soslanbekov is devoid of such "failings," which was predetermined by the parliamentarians' choice.

The new speaker of the Chechen parliament came out with Dudayev against the then-Chechen-Ingush authorities in the fall of 1991. That November, when a state of emergency was introduced in the Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic by President Yeltsin's decree, Dudayev gave Soslanbekov the job of acting as the republic's military minister. In December 1991 he was appointed chairman of the Chechen parliament's international affairs committee, and was soon also elected chairman of the parliament of the Confederation of Peoples of the Caucasus, to whose activities he devoted much time. Help from the Confederation of Peoples of the Caucasus for the Abkhazians fighting Georgia brought an increase in the standing of the Confederation's leaders. This also applies to Soslanbekov, who has become quite popular in Chechnya. The process of his going over to the opposition to Dudayev started at the beginning of 1992. In the opinion of observers, Soslanbekov's election as speaker will lead to parliament's more vigorously defending its rights against the president. [passage omitted]

## Chernomyrdin Visits Orenburg Regional Enterprises

*LD0505102293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0904 GMT 5 May 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Nikolay Goncharov]

[Text] Orenburg May 5 TASS—Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin has begun a tour of the Orenburg region from Orsk where he will acquaint himself with the work of metallurgical plants, a meat processing and packing factory and other processing enterprises.

The prime minister will visit the Saraktash and Ileksk districts and meet producers of agricultural goods who have begun spring sowing. The fourth production line of the gas processing plant, which is under construction, is of special interest to him.

Viktor Chernomyrdin will also meet commanders of the Orenburg garrison. The possibility of transforming the Higher Airforce Flying Institute into a civil aviation higher flying institute will also be discussed.

The Russian prime minister is accompanied by Vice-Premier of Agricultural Affairs Alexander Zaveryukha and other ministers.

## Kalmyk Constitutional Changes Viewed, President Cited

*PM0505122593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 May 93 First Edition p 2*

[Valeriy Kornev report: "Changes Continue in Kalmykia—The Republic Supreme Soviet Has Surrendered Its Powers"]

[Text] Elista—Of all the Republic of Kalmykia Supreme Soviet sessions, the 21st Extraordinary Session was the shortest in duration—the sitting lasted less than three hours, but the decisions adopted emerged as the most important event in the republic's political life following the election of well-known entrepreneur Kirsan Ilyumzhinov to the post of its president. The Supreme Soviet has surrendered its powers as the highest organ of state power. Hot on its heels, the institution of local Soviets in Kalmykia is nearing the end of its existence.

Moreover, the decisions were adopted in a fairly calm atmosphere. As already recounted in IZVESTIYA (No. 68), according to the election results Kirsan Ilyumzhinov left the other two candidates far behind, obtaining two-thirds of the vote—that is, he has thus received the support of the majority for the practical implementation of his program, which pointed out the Republic Supreme Soviet's conservatism and inconsistency in both economic and political questions. The program states: "It is necessary to form an effective system of power capable of conducting and carrying through a policy of radical reforms."

Republic of Kalmykia President Kirsan Ilyumzhinov deemed it necessary to implement this, one of the main points of his program, before all else—literally one week after taking the oath.

"This is linked directly with the economic tasks which we are setting ourselves," Kirsan Ilyumzhinov told me. "But practice has shown that under the existing power structure market mechanisms constantly come unstuck."

The policy of change was once again confirmed just prior to the opening of the session at a rally held on the initiative of democratically-oriented parties and movements which supported Ilyumzhinov during the election campaign. Kalmykia's president, taking advantage of his right to legislative initiative, personally submitted to the Republic Supreme Soviet for its examination a law on supplementing and amending a number of articles of the Constitution. By adopting it, the deputies deleted from the Constitution the article stating that the Supreme Soviet is the highest organ of state power. Thus, the Supreme Soviet surrendered its powers. On its own initiative, it adopted a decree on dissolving the local Soviets.

It is worth noting that the change in status will be fairly mild for the deputies themselves. The leaders of local Soviets will retain their wages and corresponding benefits for a year. Pending the election of a new parliament, the Supreme

Soviet deputies will keep their powers. A date for electing the parliament, which, according to the article adopted, will now be a professional one, will be specified later. For the time being, it was elected here, at the session, but consisting now of 25 people, as stipulated by this article. There used to be 130 people in the Supreme Soviet. Professor K. Maksimov, director of Kalmykia University and doctor of historical sciences, was appointed chairman of the republic's first parliament.

Now, in line with the Constitution of the Republic of Kalmykia—Khalmg-Tangch [name as transliterated]—the president is the head of state and of the executive, and the institution of the presidency is unshakeable. Under a special article, the president is afforded the right to dissolve parliament.

"This is by no means an aspiration for authoritarianism," Kirsan Ilyumzhinov commented. "It corresponds to civilized standards. An article now inserted in the Constitution of Kalmykia stating that private property is sacrosanct and inviolable also corresponds to these same standards. I can reiterate that which was mulled over for a long time and included in my election program: We and democratic Russia share the same fate."

## Peacekeepers Control North Ossetia Emergency Zone

*LD0405165193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1605 GMT 4 May 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz May 4 TASS—Russian peacemakers fully control the situation in the state of emergency zone in Northern Ossetia and Ingushetia, says today's report of the temporary administration headquarters.

No fire exchanges, or attacks at control-check points or local spots of inter-ethnic armed confrontation have been registered over the past 24 hours.

At the same time, the crime situation provokes grave concern. A total of 12 crimes and incidents have been registered, 17 people have been detained for administrative violations, seven pieces of fire arms, grenades and hundreds of cartridges have been removed.

The situation on the North Ossetian-Ingush border is not calm, Deputy Chairman of the North Ossetian Supreme Soviet Major-General Stanislav Suanov told ITAR-TASS. Specific bandit groups have grown active and destabilize the situation.

In this connection the North Ossetian Parliament has sent a letter to Ingush President Ruslan Aushev to state "nine North Ossetian citizens have been killed, four wounded and seven taken hostage by Ingush extremists over the past days on North Ossetian territory".

Meanwhile, the temporary administration's negotiations service coordinated today with North Ossetian and Ingush representatives a package of documents for the next meeting of the mixed commission. The sides coordinated their actions on documental confirmation of residence registration of refugees and forced re-settlers and their non-involvement in crimes during the North Ossetian-Ingush armed conflict.

## Far East Commander Asked To Head Cossacks Movement

*PM0505101193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 May 93 p 1*

[RIA report: "Far East Cossacks Invite Troops Commander To Head Cossack Movement"]

[Text] This proposal was sent by the cossack chiefs' council to Colonel General Viktor Chechevatov, commander of the Far East Military District.

At the same time the question is being examined of admitting Cossack leaders to the district military council, elaborating a state program for developing border lands, and forming Cossack units to serve in the region. The Far East Military District headquarters has reported that the command has approved the Cossack chiefs council's proposal.

## North Caucasus Military District Marks Anniversary

*LD0405223093 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 4 May 93*

[By correspondent Aleksandr Ostrovskiy from the North Caucasus, including recording of remarks by L. Shustko, commander of North Caucasus Military District; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Today the North Caucasus Military District celebrates its anniversary. It is 75 years old.

[Ostrovskiy] The territory of the North Caucasus Military District is equal to the territory of France, but in its military-political importance and the cluster of its ethnic-regional problems it probably exceeds all Russia's military districts. From being an internal district, it has been turned into a border one. A powerful strategic echelon in North Caucasus is being formed on its basis. It is mainly units from the Transcaucasus and the group of forces in Germany which are being brought in here. At present the district performs its dual task with difficulty: the stationing of troops and military exercises.

[Shustko] We ought now to be in such a condition that we can reliably defend our state border and reliably react to any conflict. During the years of the civil war—at the start of the district's formation—and during the Great Patriotic War and now, the future of Russia has been and is being tackled here in the south.

## Regional Leaders Comment on Draft Constitution

*LD0505101993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0849 GMT 5 May 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents]

[Text] Moscow May 5 TASS—In view of the referendum's results, the adoption of a new Russian constitution is a necessity. Such is the gist of the opinions of several officials representing administrations of republics, territories and regions within the Russian Federation. ITAR-TASS correspondents interviewed them after the publication of the presidential draft of the new fundamental law.

Thus, head of the working group of the Buryatian parliamentary constitutional commission, Oleg Khyshiktuyev, believes that "the presidential draft reflects the changes that have taken place in Russia in the past two years. He regards adherence to the federal treaty as a positive factor of the document. At the same time, the draft fundamental law must fuller reflect the status of republics within the Russian Federation that are states with their own constitutions, citizenship, laws and economic sovereignty.

Viktor Ishayev, chief of the Khabarovsk territorial administration, fully endorsed the draft constitution. He supported the idea of a bicameral parliament consisting of a council of the federation, in which all territories will be represented, and a state duma. Ishayev believes the new Russian constitution should be a constitution of a presidential democratic republic guaranteeing strong executive and legislative authorities and separation of their powers.

Chief of the Stavropol territorial administration Yevgeniy Kuznetsov also favours the creation of strong presidential authority bolstered by the adoption of a new constitution. "In the present situation this is just what Russia needs", he said.

The officials interviewed by ITAR-TASS differed as to the way of adopting a constitution. Representative of the Buryatian council Khyshiktuyev declared flatling against the idea of a constitutional assembly. He said that during the referendum people have not approved of the re-election of people's deputies, so they should participate in adopting the constitution. Chief of the Khabarovsk administration Ishayev, quite the contrary, declared against the congress which he regards as an anachronism. The administration of the Stavropol territority formed a commission to perfect the draft constitution. The commission includes representatives of the administration and of public structures of the Stavropol territory.

## Northern Fleet Wants Island Bases Closed To Save Money

*PM0405155193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 May 93 p 1*

[Vladimir Gundarov report under the "From Our News Bureau" rubric: "There Will Be Fewer Remote Outposts"]

[Text] Severomorsk—The cuts in the Russian Armed Forces have affected not just people, ships, and subunits of the Northern Fleet but whole garrisons scattered throughout the islands of the Barents Sea and the coastline of the Kola Peninsula.

They require colossal material outlay on their upkeep, and the fleet does not have the resources. A decision to transfer the small garrisons to the mainland has already been prepared by the Northern Fleet command. The final say rests with the Russian Armed Forces General Staff.

## International Affairs

### Parliament Reportedly Delays Debate on START I Treaty

*AU0305190693 Paris AFP in English 1848 GMT 3 May 93*

[Text] Kiev, May 3 (AFP)—The Ukrainian parliament Monday [3 May] postponed the debate on ratification of the START-1 nuclear arms reduction treaty amid growing tension in neighbouring Russia, parliament sources said here.

"The situation in Russia has influenced discussion of the document," Sergey Semenets, deputy chairman of the parliamentary commission on the START-1 treaty, told AFP. He also cited the rehabilitation of the Ukrainian Communist Party as a reason for the delay.

Hardline members of Russia's parliament Monday faced possible charges of inciting violence following May Day clashes between pro-Communist supporters and riot police during which about 200 people were injured.

Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk Monday proposed that discussion of START-1 be postponed until the week beginning June 4, when a new constitution is due to be adopted in Russia, according to the reform timetable put forward by President Boris Yeltsin.

In the past few months the Ukrainian leadership has repeatedly expressed anxiety over the rise of Russian nationalism.

For months Ukraine has delayed ratification of START-1, signed in July 1991 by former Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev and his U.S. counterpart George Bush.

Ukraine is demanding financial compensation and security guarantees before it starts dismantling its nuclear weapons.

Ukrainian leaders frequently voice doubts about whether Russia is actually destroying nuclear warheads transferred to its territory in accordance with START-1.

### Defense Minister Returns From Riga Conference

*LD0405181693 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1500 GMT 4 May 93*

[Text] Colonel General Kostyantyn Morozov, Ukraine's defense minister, has returned from Riga to Kiev. Together with his counterparts from Bulgaria, Belarus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Slovakia, Poland, Romania, and Moldova he discussed issues of building armed forces in a democratic society, as well as relations between the Central European countries and NATO and other European military organizations.

### Views Non-Alignment, Security Issues

*LD0405222193 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1600 GMT 4 May 93*

[Text] Defense Minister Kostyantyn Morozov has arrived in Kiev from Riga where he took part in the meeting of heads of military departments of Central European states. As has been reported by the press service of the Defense Ministry, this meeting was supposed to turn into a constituent conference on cooperation of the countries of the Central European region in issues of developing armed forces. At least, this was to be said in a joint statement by the ministers. This did not happen, due to the unacceptability of the very issue on creating any associations of states on the principles of military- political cooperation.

Speaking at the meeting, Kostyantyn Morozov stressed that Ukraine is a non-aligned country and it supports cooperation within the framework of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council and other functioning international organizations. This is why Ukraine believes it inexpedient to set up new ones. At the same time, the minister pointed out that our state is open to dialogue with any country that seeks understanding on issues of European security. The initiative of the president of Ukraine on the creation of conditions of stability and guaranteed security in East Europe is geared to that very end. The Ukraine defense minister, who took part in the meeting, aimed at informing his counterparts about this initiative.

### Vice Premier Views Tasks of Business Colloquium

*AU0505101393 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 30 Apr 93 p 3*

[Interview with Vice Prime Minister V.I. Yevtukhov by Dmytro Tabachnyk; place and date not given: "Foreign Investments: From Words to Deeds"]

[Text] The establishment of economic relations between Ukraine and advanced Western countries is not an easy process. The reasons for this are obvious. It is very difficult to adapt our economy that was, until quite recently, excessively centralized to the system of market relations adopted throughout the world. The period of intentions and negotiations, when the sides seem to be sizing each other up, may drag on. That is why every practical step in establishing truly efficient cooperation, attracting foreign investments, and introducing modern foreign technologies in our country is of importance. A colloquium ("roundtable") that will be held in Kiev, on 21 and 22 May, by representatives of Ukrainian and Western European business circles must be the most important of them. Ukraine's Cabinet of Ministers, the Ukrainian Presidential Administration, and the Consortium for the Development of Eastern European Countries are its direct organizers. The organizing committee of the conference is headed by Vasyl Ivanovych Yevtukhov who, today, fulfills the duties of Ukraine's first

vice prime minister. He is also president of the Ukrainian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs. Mr. Yevtukhov kindly agreed to answer a few questions regarding the forthcoming meeting.

[Tabachnyk] Vasyl Ivanovych, at the beginning of the year, there appeared a statement on the forthcoming meeting between representatives of the business world of Ukraine and Western European countries. This brief information had wide repercussions among Ukrainian industrialists and entrepreneurs. However, later, rumors spread to the effect that the meeting either never took place or ended in failure. What really happened?

[Yevtukhov] Indeed, on 19 January 1993, the Cabinet of Ministers adopted a directive on holding a colloquium of Ukrainian and Western European entrepreneurs in Kiev. However, the planned time for holding the meeting—in February—was later postponed until May, at the request of the Western side. The motto of the colloquium—"Foreign Investments: From Words to Deeds" is self-explanatory.

What guided the government in adopting such a decision? There is presently much talk everywhere—in the parliament, in the press, television, and radio, as well as at conferences—about the market. However, have we really entered the market? To what extent do our economy, its infrastructure, leaders of enterprises, and entrepreneurs conform to the requirements of market relations? Finally, in what way has the transition to new and sensible principles of economic activity and also to new ownership relations affected and will it affect our entire society? A series of such questions, far from being rhetoric, requires weighed analysis, correlation, and determination of perspectives. One also feels like assessing our problems from the point of view of foreign businessmen and economists.

Yes, we have given up the administrative command system of economic management. We have granted more freedom to enterprises and entrepreneurship. Ukraine's Supreme Council has adopted a package of laws that have made it possible to conduct economic activity in various forms of ownership, to guarantee the functioning of joint enterprises, the protection of foreign investments, and so on. The Cabinet of Ministers, to which the parliament has granted special powers, is taking vigorous measures for stabilizing the economy.... At the same time, we are witnessing a decline in the volume of production. Our industry is being adjusted to new conditions and will manufacture truly necessary and not "planned" output. The standard of living of the population is declining accordingly, because people are learning how to earn their living by their own labor, instead of waiting for the miserable pittance in the form of a salary from the state. It goes without saying that, in this difficult period, legislative processes and the work of the system of executive power may lag behind economic development.

hat is why the leadership of Ukraine decided to compare its course toward economic reforms with the experience gained in Western European countries. It is important for us to explore the practice of the leading companies in Germany, Great Britain, Italy, and other Western countries in the conditions of market, competition, and active entrepreneurship. That is to say, in conditions that have been shaped for centuries and that have a sound legislative foundation and traditions, as well as a specific ideology and ethics of entrepreneurship. On the other hand, our experience in state regulation of the economy has much about it that is rational and may also be of interest for developed countries. Why not exchange such experiences?

Representatives of big business showed understanding of Ukraine's initiative. We received support from the European Economic Community. The Consortium for the Development of Eastern European Countries is one of the organizers of the colloquium.

[Tabachnyk] Well this is going to be a meeting between industrialists of a young indeperdent state that is just mastering new principles of economic management and representatives of big business. What is its main objective?

[Yevtukhov] The main objective of the colloquium is to learn about the experience in the development of the market economy in Western European countries and to study the possibility of assimilating it in the conditions that prevail in Ukraine. Also of importance is the critical assessment of the initial results of the work of Ukrainian enterprises in new conditions, in particular, with the attraction of foreign investments, utilization of advanced technologies, conversion processes, and so on. Beside studying these processes, it is planned to hold bilateral negotiations between Ukrainian and Western European partners, to sign agreements, and to plan future cooperation. The establishment of personal contacts with representatives of Western European business circles will be of particular importance.

[Tabachnyk] Who will arrive here?

[Yevtukhov] It is expected that 50 entrepreneurs from Western European countries will take part in the work of the colloquium. They are presidents and general directors of the firms "Gas de France," "Vickers," "Fiat," "Elf," "British Airspace," "Total," "Aerospacial," and others. The majority of them have already agreed to meet with leading figures of Ukrainian industry and with entrepreneurs. We hope that the cooperation will be fruitful.

The Ukrainian side will be represented by almost 100 directors of state and non-state enterprises and heads of ministries and departments.

[Tabachnyk] You quoted the motto of the colloquium: "Foreign Investments in Ukraine's Economy: From Words to Deeds." Does this mean that, in addition to learning about the experience of foreign companies, actual investments will also be discussed?

[Yevtukhov] We are counting upon the common sense of entrepreneurs and the foresight of our partners. Ukraine is not a beggar. We are convinced that Western partners will realize that their investment in promising branches of our industry is reliably protected by our legislation and that the "know-how" projects that many of our enterprises, institutes, or other structures possess are a profitable business. Besides, during the work of the colloquium, an exhibition of products of Ukrainian enterprises will be held. According to its characteristics, this exhibition is an example of using talent, technological thought, new discoveries, and developments.

That is why we are offering our partners the opportunity to proceed from words to deeds. I think that they will become convinced that Ukraine is a state whose scientific, technological, and intellectual potential is practically inexhaustible. We are striving to develop truly mutually advantageous and promising cooperation on this basis.

We hope to reach mutual understanding in this sphere.

We in Ukraine attach great importance to the forthcoming meeting. This is attested to at least by the fact that the state's top leaders will take part in it.

## National Affairs

### Kuchma Warns of 'Major Calamity' Ahead

*PM0405132193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 May 93 First Edition p 4*

[Interview with Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma by Leonid Kapelyushnyy in Kiev; date not given: "Leonid Kuchma: The Situation in Ukraine Calls For Nontraditional Solutions"]

[Text] The new head of the Ukrainian Government warns that the young power [derzhava], bogged down in the morass of economic crisis, is on the threshold of social shocks "whose scale and dynamics are beyond our powers to assess."

[Kapelyushnyy] Leonid Danilovich, on a previous occasion you compared the current economic situation in Ukraine with the postwar devastation. But after the victorious 1945 we recovered from the disaster as a united family. Now each state is looking after itself, state egotism is rampant, overt and covert confrontation is under way between yesterday's Union republics. What is the present state of Russian-Ukrainian relations?

[Kuchma] Since Ukraine and Russia exist as sovereign states, state interests also exist. It is naive to hope that one power would show concern for the other to its own detriment. We can and must talk only of parity relations and mutually advantageous cooperation.

It is universally known that the situation with oil products is very severe in Ukraine, and we depend on oil deliveries from Russia. Does this mean that we should concentrate only on the quantity of raw material arriving via the pipeline from Siberia? No, of course not. The oil industry workers quite rightly complained to us about equipment deliveries and nonperformance of other contracts. During my trip to Western Siberia we determined a cooperation program through 2005 and gave certain pledges as regards opening up of deposits and supplying the Siberians with foodstuffs and consumer goods. This is normal. An abnormal situation develops when oil ceases being just a raw material and turns into a political instrument.

At times I get the feeling that our Russian partners and we are talking in different languages. Let me cite an example. We seem unable to agree on the way to divide the former USSR's external debts and assets. Ukraine's proposal is this: Either separate administration of this inheritance, or a "zero option" plus 36 installations. What does this mean? We will hand over to Russia our part of the external debt and will give up [our claim to] the assets, retaining abroad only 36 installations necessary for diplomatic services. A point of mutual understanding, it would seem. But no decision is forthcoming, and then Russia hardens its stance at the talks on energy carriers. Once all the documents were initialed, the price of natural gas rose from 15,600 to 27,000 rubles per 1,000 cubic meters. This is difficult to comprehend....

Quite a few people are not completely aware of the extent to which we, the Commonwealth states, depend on Russia. For example, Ukraine imports not only Russia's oil but also Russia's inflation, internal Russian squabbles, and the tendencies toward the state's disintegration. Against our own will and desire, the Ukrainian reforms have been influenced by "Gaydarnomics," a path which I believe to be wrong. Now we are making colossal efforts in an attempt to get off this path and find our own. Wherein lies the complexity? For as long as the development of the economic situation was determined by logic and common sense, we were unable to influence it. But now, I repeat, politics has become the determining factor in our relations with Russia.

According to the roughest of estimates, Ukraine would need $13 billion to procure its oil and gas if it were to switch to world prices. Add to this $650 million for the most urgently needed medicines and $300 million for eliminating the consequences of Chernobyl. The national bank is short not only of dollars—it has no rubles, either.

[Kapelyushnyy] The Union's economy was built in such a way that each republic was made dependent on the rest. The old ties are broken now, each state creates its own closed economic circles. But this is difficult, expensive, and short of common sense.

[Kuchma] Our experts have analyzed the causes of the slump in production at a group of major enterprises. The results are interesting. Only 35 percent of the total slump is due to macroeconomic factors—disruption of ties, difficulties in reciprocal settlements, and so on. The

other 65 percent should be "credited" to poor executive and technological discipline, lack of effective management, and the monopolists' corporate egotism. Somehow, along the path to the market, we seem to have forgotten that wages must be earned and turned them into handouts which, in inefficient enterprises, become a burden on the state. Thus, it is primarily necessary to impose order in one's own home.

[Kapelyushnyy] But how is this to be done?

[Kuchma] The current economic crisis is also political. Its components are inefficiency along the vertical line of management and lack of control over regional administrative and economic authorities. Now the government seems to have acquired emergency powers. But all they boil down to is the right to distribute emergency power papers. According to the folk saying, the dog knows his master. Yet I have to conduct separate talks with each major enterprise and each region. And if we do manage to find a common language, it is because I am Kuchma, not because I am prime minister. I have the feeling that not only the church but also the plants, kolkhozes, and rural cooperatives have split from the state. Thank God we have not yet ended up with independent Army divisions....

I perceive the government's main task as being to restore control over the economy's state sector. It was a major mistake—not to use harsher language—to abolish ministries. They may not be needed tomorrow, once the forms of ownership have changed. But we need to live today, we need to extricate ourselves from the crisis today.

Is it a secret to anyone that the kolkhozes, in their classical form, have exhausted their potential? And yet we cannot survive without them! For the time being, private farming is in its embryonic stage. There is no equipment, there are no technical service systems, there are no fertilizers, and so on. We have spent five years talking about the need to give the land back to the farmers, but not a penny's worth of work has actually been done.... Yes, the old can be demolished. But only when something new and reliable is in place—not before that. After all, if a private farmer today were to cultivate an excellent harvest and produce rivers of milk, there are hundreds of ways to drive him into a corner. On a perfectly legitimate basis, at that. Thus, in addition to the material base, we also need to refashion the peasant-kolkhoz member's mentality.

I am perfectly well aware that, until land is privately owned, there will be no fundamental breakthrough in agriculture, that this will hold back the influx of investors in Ukraine. But I am also aware that our parliament would block any such draft law. This is the reality, and we must proceed from it.

[Kapelyushnyy] It is perfectly obvious that Ukraine needs strong executive power....

[Kuchma] Ukraine needs power. All its branches must be strong—the executive, the legislature, the judiciary, and yours, the fourth.

[Kapelyushnyy] But how are these powers to be created? After all, you revived the ministries—and were immediately dubbed "red director." Ask for additional powers—and you will become a potential dictator.... It is not just that each region is pursuing its own policy today, but each rural soviet decides whom to obey—be it the president, the Cabinet of Ministers, or the Supreme Rada. Where is the way out?

[Kuchma] Let me put it this way. It was impossible to solve the economic problems with the rights vested in the cabinet. We exhausted the reserves for normalizing the situation by using macroeconomic methods. Today these methods require a substantial political-administrative boost. It can be effected only by the Supreme Soviet and the presidential structures.

Yes, we are entering a zone of acute political tension, and only joint efforts would make it possible to soften the blow and prevent total catastrophe. Unfortunately, everyone wants order but not everyone is prepared to pay for it. The general algorithm is this: "Give us fuel, give us funds, give us everything, but do not interfere in our affairs...." Alas, this is not on.

Speaking about the impending catastrophe, I am neither overdramatizing the situation nor laying it on thickly. I am simply and honestly warning the people and the power structures that we are on the threshold of a major calamity. And since we have already touched upon the topic of Russian-Ukrainian relations, I also deem it necessary to say the following. Despite the customs posts and border barriers, it will also affect Russia. The terrifying truth is that the Western partners need us—Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus—the way we are now: poor, isolated, disorderly....

[Kapelyushnyy] You recently completed a tour of Ukrainian villages. Do your meetings, conversations, and observations give you any ground for saying that the masses are aware of the need for strong power?

[Kuchma] Good God, there was not a single meeting without people asking me when there will be order in the country. Here is something else: They still have faith and hope that the situation will improve. In contrast with the Baltic states where the people were united by the idea of national revival, or other states which have proclaimed global ideas to consolidate society, Ukraine is still nurtured on faith—everything will work out, everything will be calm, everything will be in order.

But now we must honestly admit that we have exhausted the stock of the people's confidence. The situation is dramatic, it calls for bold and nontraditional solutions. Life itself demands a special regime of governance involving participation and responsibility by all top officials and the involvement of all state organs. Such a regime is necessary to prevent a social catastrophe,

overcome the metastases of speculation and corruption, cure the allergy to privatization, and distribute abandoned lands for the real implementation of economic reform. There is no longer any alternative to this.

## Defense Minister Views Situation in Armed Forces

*AU0405133293 Lvov ZA VILNU UKRAYINU in Ukrainian 27 Apr 93 p 2*

[Speech by Defense Minister Kostyantyn Morozov at the Fourth Congress of Ukraine's Officers Union; place and date not given: "It Is Time To Act More Decisively"]

[Text] The Army is now confronted with quite a number of tasks. Let us list only some of those on which we are working at present. The need to keep the situation under control and to avoid a split in the officers corps. The creation of structures for the ground troops and the determination of these structures and their numerical strength. The unification of air force troops and air defense forces. The continuation of work on Ukraine's Draft Military Doctrine. The establishment of ties between Ukraine's Ministry of Defense and the corresponding ministries of CIS member countries, eastern European countries, NATO countries, and other countries of the world. The resolution of everyday problems that arise in connection with the uncertainty of questions regarding strategic forces and the Black Sea Fleet. The reduction of conventional weapons in accordance with maximum quotas as have been specified by international agreements. The search for an effective resolution of social problems that the Armed Forces personnel encounter and, primarily, of the housing problem. The introduction of new forms of patriotic indoctrination of servicemen, the introduction of the Ukrainian language, the problems of policy with regard to cadres, the bringing of the army up to strength, and military discipline.

**Our main task is the creation of combat-ready structures of ground troops.** In 1991, journalists estimated that there were one and a half million military personnel on the territory of Ukraine. At that time, the General Staff in Moscow did not want and could not provide the correct number. We obtained it later on our own.

As of 1 January 1992, this estimate was down to 726,000, and included all formations on the territory of our fatherland. In 1992, more than 100,000 people were assigned outside Ukraine, transferred to the National Guard, or dismissed from the Armed Forces. There were 17,000 officers transferred to Ukraine. More than 100,000 were dismissed as a result of reforms. As of 1 April 1993, our Armed Forces are 525,000 strong.

As you see, great changes are under way. All of this has complicated the formation of administrative bodies. At the same time, conventional weapons reduction proceeds in accordance with international agreements. This task is extremely complicated even if all the structures within the Armed Forces work in a concerted manner. Our situation is entirely different. Nevertheless, we must find ways to reduce the number of tanks by 5,300, armored combat vehicles by 2,400, and combat aircraft by 477.

I will not reveal the entire structure of our Armed Forces or their deployment. I will only say that we have efficient commands on the basis of former military districts. They will involve army and mechanized corps, mechanized and tank divisions and brigades, regiments and battalions, instruction centers, and a whole system for training. Every commander will have, in his sphere, everything necessary for conducting combat operations. Their subordination in times of peace and war will conform to the principles of maximizing efficiency.

**Irrespective of the Supreme Council's decision, nuclear weapons are available in Ukraine and will exist there for many years to come.** All this time we will have to take care of them, maintain, and guard them, but in all cases we will reduce them (at a rapid or not very rapid rate). This involves quite a number of problems. What am I saying? That, for a long period of time, many people—officers and warrant officers, as well as soldiers who are Ukrainian citizens and who have taken the oath of allegiance to their people—will live and work together with us, on our land, and under our sky. The majority of them have already expressed their desire to continue their service or continue living in Ukraine at the end of their service. Some people have already arrived in Ukraine, where they feel at home, and continue their service here, waiting for the approval of their status.

I think that officers and warrant officers of the 43d Rocket Army must start taking the oath. We do not have any other choice. There exists a legislative foundation for this. The presidential edict of 5 April 1992 envisaged administrative control on part of Ukraine's Ministry of Defense. People need protection from the state and cannot help belonging to the state. We will resolve this problem gradually, without exerting pressure, but consciously and persistently. We will not politicize the situation and will not ask questions such as "How come? When was there anything like that?" There never was, but there will be now.

**About fulfilling presidential edicts on the unification of the air force and air defense forces.** Specialists know about the difficult conditions in which these two branches of the Armed Forces have been developing over many years. The contradictions that arise between the peace-time situation, when control systems are poorly defined, and the subordination during combat training developed into confrontation. This was the case in all armed conflicts where our system was applied in its existing form. Our troops hit more of our own soldiers than they enemy's. Besides, the development of weapons for inflicting damage on the enemy's control and supply systems had its own specific trends and cost the state much money. However, it was implemented, because the state could afford it, the territory was huge, and the responsibility for air defenses was given to different formations.

Now, the situation has changed. With their greater numerical strength, both the air force troops and the air defense forces will operate on one territory and in one space. Even the mobile forces that may be used in retaliatory operations. It is today possible to concentrate all active means of air and even space defense in the same hands after authorizing a single administrative body to ensure protection from [the enemy's] air reconnaissance or from strikes against facilities. The development of a single system of administration, placement of orders for technology and weapons, as well as their supply and maintenance will ensure an economic advantage for the state.

Proceeding precisely from this, Ukraine's Supreme Council, as far back as in December 1991, having approved the law "On Ukraine's Armed Forces," provided a legal foundation for uniting the two branches of the Armed Forces into one. The text of the law refers to it as the "Air Force," and, in parentheses, it is added "Air Defense Forces." For implementing this law, Ukraine's president issued an edict on unifying the Air Force Troops and the Air Defense Forces into a single Armed Force and on appointing its commander. The mechanism for the fulfillment of the presidential edict is determined in the order issued by the minister of defense. In accordance with this order, at the first stage—until September 1993—it is necessary to form an operational group and, by September 1994, to transform it into the headquarters of operational control. At the second stage, control must be handed over to this headquarters and, concurrently, the responsibility for the air space must be given to the commander of the Air Force. It is envisaged that the unification of all links of control will be completed by 30 November 1995.

I am asking you: What interest of the people or of the state has not been taken into account by such a decision? A single command, a single system for training the cadres and for ordering the technology and weapons, and a single supply and maintenance system will make it possible, while the troops are subjected to reduction, to maintain their combat readiness at a high level. It is envisaged that specialists from aviation and the air defense forces will be purposefully used in all command posts. Therefore, the pressure that has been artificially created by opponents of such actions and supported by not entirely experienced people and that is now being exerted upon the Ministry of Defense has no foundation whatever. I call upon officers to understand this question. Unification is expedient, necessary, and timely.

**The problem of the Crimea and of the Black Sea Fleet.** This is my own definition of the problem, because I believe that the problem of the Crimea may determine whether Ukraine will be a naval state. This depends upon resolving the question of ownership of the Black Sea Fleet. For our still young state, it already has a long history.

The concept of Ukraine's defense envisaged the creation of Ukraine's Naval Forces on the basis of the Forces of the Black Sea Fleet. We have pointed out all the time that Ukraine does not have claims upon the entire fleet. Our approaches are justified: Everything that is located in Ukraine is ours. It has been precisely Ukraine that has given up a great part of what belongs to it and was the first to agree to meet the other side half-way. In Dagomys, we agreed to cooperate in the creation, on the basis of the fleet, of two associations—Russia's Navy and Ukraine's Navy. The same approach was also applied in the Yalta Agreement.

It might seem that it is clear to everybody that Ukraine made a gesture of good will for the sake of our citizens' well-being. The president signed this agreement in the hope that an understanding may be found and that problems will be resolved proceeding from mutually acceptable principles over a period of three years. However, it appears that history repeats itself, and that, again, we will have to learn from our own mistakes.

The negotiations between the state delegations on implementing the Yalta principles have become deadlocked—precisely because of the unwillingness on the part of the Russian side to understand those principles. The constant interference of Russia's Main Naval Committee in the affairs of the fleet command is virtually taking this command away from the control of the two presidents. By directives from Moscow, ships with Ukrainian citizens have been deployed in the region of the armed conflict between Georgia and Abkhazia. International law is, in fact, being blatantly violated. The Russian side and the fleet command are regarding the transitional period prior to division as a moratorium upon division itself. This is not without advantage for our neighbor.

The demothballing of combat technology and its preparation for withdrawal from Ukraine, the removal of fuel and lubricants, the sale of land, structures, and equipment to commercial organizations, the supply of our materials to units that are stationed outside Ukraine, the virtual looting of state capital (when, by somebody's unilateral decision, money is taken from other items and used for maintaining personnel and, twice during this year, paid in accordance with the tariffing in the Russian Army and taking into account the rate of the karbovanets against the ruble). Officers are dismissed for showing loyalty to [Ukraine's] state policy and are deprived of the possibility of continuing their service in accordance with their specialization, while cadets are deprived of the chance to complete their tours of duty in line units. This is far from being a complete list of the problems that characterize the state of confrontation. It is not in Ukraine's interests. Lately, there has not even been talk about the transfer of officers from the Black Sea Fleet to the Navy, and those who have chosen to make this move have begun to ponder over the expediency of the decision.

I have met with these people. I find it necessary to help them, because those who are in the first ranks always experience difficulties. However, history must

remember these people. Everybody must know who were those in the front lines and who began to build the Ukrainian fleet....

Taking into account this difficult situation, we reached the conclusion that it was time to proceed to specific steps in organizing our Naval Forces. In my opinion, only the question of dividing warships can be expected to be resolved. With regard to land and the infrastructure, they must be subordinated....

As regards military administration, it must be Ukrainian on Ukrainian land. In all the garrisons. So that Ukrainian citizens in the fleet and in military units can feel protected. We do have candidates for the posts of garrison commanders. A directive of the minister of defense on their appointment has already been sent to the troops. It is time to stop directly financing a separate development of the Black Sea Fleet and concentrate on Ukraine's Naval Forces. Such a decision has also been adopted.

Incidentally, it is the second time that these decisions have been adopted. These questions would have been resolved long ago, if the appropriate individuals had carried out the orders issued by the minister of defense back in 1992. We delay and lose—this is our sad experience over the last one and a half years.

I have ordered that additional openings become available for as many officers as possible who do not have any positions in the Naval Forces. We have prepared a draft decree of the Cabinet of Ministers on the obligation on the part of local administrations to make reservations in hotels on behalf of military units, so that officers' families can get accommodation there paid for out of the state budget. This applies not only to Ukraine's Naval Forces, but also to all branches of our Armed Forces. **I believe in our fleet, and we will build it, no matter what it may cost us....**

**Now about patriotic indoctrination and military discipline.** All of us have an extremely important task—to educate Ukrainian soldiers. Everybody must be aware of what we must defend and what Ukraine is for us. We must be able to explain these points, learn them ourselves, and teach our subordinates.

...In our difficult time, the same things are often assessed in dissimilar ways. The president made a decision and, by the order of the minister of defense, it has already been arranged that, starting from the middle of April, only the needs of the part of the Black Sea Fleet that is located in Ukraine will be financed—by 50 percent [punctuation as published]. In my opinion, this will also contribute to indoctrinating our people in the army.

A directive has also been issued on paying servicemen of the Naval Force a bonus amounting to one month's salary and on terminating the financing of the newspaper FLAG RODINY [The Flag of the Motherland]....

I think that the decision to introduce the Ukrainian language in the Army was an important step in educating patriots, a decision that took the form of the Ukrainian minister of defense directive and the directive of 5 April on the mechanism of granting citizenship in Ukraine's Armed Forces....

I decisively reject all accusations that we are conducting "forced Ukrainization...."

**About the policy with regard to the cadres.** From the very first days of bringing our Army up to strength, we proceeded from the principles of citizenship. Citizenship alone, without taking into account ethnic origin. All those who are citizens of Ukraine, who consider it to be their fatherland, who treat it as their own state, and who are ready to defend the land of their fathers with weapons in their hands enjoy equal rights in the Armed Forces. However, this is precisely something that cannot be so easily determined. On the one hand, confidence is necessary and, on the other—conscientious service and allegiance to the oath and to one's own people. That is why we discuss candidates for these positions collectively at meetings of examination boards at all levels.

Over this period of time, not everything took the desired course. Many mistakes have already been made. Many more will be made in the future. Unfortunately, we failed to avoid negative phenomena at the highest levels of the Ministry of Defense cadres administration. Bribery and corruption have also taken root in these structures. However, we decided not to conceal them, no matter how disgraceful they might be. A minister of defense order was issued to have the materials submitted to the Procurator's Office. Those involved in the abuse were stripped of their military ranks. They were also dismissed from our Armed Forces. Lieutenant General Ihnatenko was relieved of his duties as chief of the cadres administration for the mistakes he made. He was offered a different job.

Many questions have recently been voiced regarding problems of the leading personnel cadres in the Armed Forces. You know that General Sobkov is coping well with his job as troop commander of the Transcarpathian Military District. General Stepanov was transferred to a less responsible post—deputy commander of the Odessa Military District. General Olyeynikov was relieved of his duties as chief of armaments in the Armed Forces. For violations of rules in organizing the sales of weapons. After these violations are investigated, I will adopt a final decision.

By a Ukrainian presidential edict, General Lopata was appointed as chief of the General Staff and first deputy minister of Defense. Still vacant are the posts of deputy minister of defense, deputy commanders of troops of the Odessa and Transcarpathian military districts, as well as some leading positions in armies, divisions, and military educational institutions. Candidates are being selected and screened and are being prepared for appointment.

**I would like to say a few words about the conditions in which the Ministry of Defense and its minister have worked over the last six months.** To call them difficult would hardly reflect the situation that has taken shape. All the 20 months of work has been difficult for us and for me, in particular. However, the situation that developed in October 1992 can hardly be regarded as anything other than psychological provocation. What are the reasons for these attacks? Who are their authors? What do they want? In my opinion, the reasons lie in our allegiance to the idea of independence and the territorial integrity of the Ukrainian state and in the struggle against corruption and abuse. The authors of these attacks are supporters and perpetrators of orders that are aimed at throwing Ukraine back to slavery and at dividing its territory. With their provocative calls and statements, they want to politicize the atmosphere in the Army to get support for their plans....

However, these attempts will not succeed. We are steadily advancing toward building a reliable system for defending our independence, and in our work we rely upon all those who wish happiness for their people and strive to achieve true independence. It was very pleasant for me to hear reports on sociological studies. In particular: The Ukrainian people today trust their Armed Forces. We will try to justify this confidence in the future. At any rate, I will not leave my post voluntarily. Not on my own and not in the company of others!...

## Kravchuk Meets With Crimean Supreme Soviet Chairman

*LD0405193593 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1800 GMT 4 May 93*

[Text] Ukraine President Leonid Kravchuk today met with Crimean Supreme Council Chairman Mykola Bahrov. After the meeting, Leonid Kravchuk said in an interview with journalists that the draft Ukrainian constitution was discussed during the conversation and so were the laws on delimiting power, dividing property, and dual citizenship. In particular the president noted that the law on delimiting power is in force, and the task now is to furnish it with practical mechanisms.

## Belarus

### Kebich Stresses Importance of Joining CIS Security Treaty

*LD0405163693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1600 GMT 4 May 93*

[By BELINFORM correspondent Leonid Tratsevskiy for TASS]

[Text] Minsk May 4 TASS—Belarusian Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich described as extremely important the recent parliament resolution on economic integrative cooperation with Commonwealth states, as well as the decision on Belarusian joining of the Commonwealth Treaty on Collective Security approved by the majority of parliament deputies.

The official attended today the celebration of the 40th anniversary of creation of the Minsk Higher Military Engineering (former air defence) School.

Without economic and military integration with the Commonwealth, Belarus will not be able to train military specialists of almost 200 professions or upgrade and renew materiel and armaments, said Kebich.

He stressed, however, the republic will sign the treaty on collective security only if its soldiers will not participate in armed conflicts in other CIS regions, which do not directly endanger Belarusian safety.

The republic will develop mutually beneficial close contacts with the Commonwealth on all other aspects of military cooperation.

### Servicemen's Welfare Committee Chairman Views Goals

*WS0505074793 Minsk SEM DNEY in Russian 24 Apr 93 No. 17 p 4*

[Interview with Sergey Gajdukevich, chairman of the Committee for Social Protection of Servicemen, by correspondent Pavel Chernenko under the "Interview for SEM DNEY" rubric: "Sergey Gajdukevich: 'The Republic Guarantees Protection for Servicemen'"]

[Text] The SEM DNEY correspondent is talking to Sergey Gajdukevich, chairman of the Committee for social protection of servicemen, officers and rank and file soldiers of the interior troops, and soldiers internationalists [participants of the war in Afghanistan and some other countries] in the reserve and their family members, which has been recently established at the Belarusian Council of Ministers.

[Chernenko] *Sergey Vasilyevich, what prompted the establishment of your committee?*

[Gajdukevich] The current situation. Please, judge for yourself. The reduction of the Belarusian Armed Forces, the return of Belarusian officers and warrant officers from their service in other countries, the supply of active and reserve servicemen with housing, and the social security of servicemen and their families—all these issues have become of paramount importance in our republic. Life demands that not social organizations but state institutions deal with these problems and assume all responsibility for their settlement. Our committee is such an institution. Its establishment means that the state guarantees the social security for its servicemen.

[Chernenko] *What are your goals?*

[Gajdukevich] The key goals are defined in our statutes. These are the integral state policy in the social security of servicemen, the development of general principles of the state policy in the social protection of the military, the perpetuation of the memory of Homeland defenders and war casualties, and control over the implementation of the laws on the social security of servicemen and their families. I would like to stress that these are only the key issues. However, there are many more! For example, recently the chairman of the Council of Ministers has charged our committee with organizing the 'Mutual Understanding and Conciliation' foundation to deal with the compensation for the victims of the Nazi repressions during World War II. The scope of this work and the responsibility are enormous.

[Chernenko] *What have you already managed to accomplish?*

[Gajdukevich] There is nothing to boast of for now. However, we have not been idling but drafting different resolutions and decisions on the social security of servicemen and working with definite people. People usually turn to us in case of trouble. If we help even one person in resolving his problem, this adds to our credit.

[Chernenko] *What is your committee's structure?*

[Gajdukevich] The committee is still in the process of forming. We have already set up an administration for perpetuating the memory of Homeland defenders and war casualties, and two sections—for social security and international cooperation and for the work with soldiers internationalists and participants of war conflicts. They are headed by processional brass who have had good Army training. For example, Viktor Sivokhin, chief of the section for the work with soldiers internationalists and participants of war conflicts, is a former 'Afghan' [participant of the war in Afghanistan]. He has been decorated with two orders of the Red Star. On the whole, the members of our committee are not indifferent to people's troubles and they possess the feeling of responsibility and justice.

[Chernenko] *What are the relations of your committee with the social organizations that also defend the interests of servicemen and their family members?*

[Gajdukevich] Our relations are most positive. We are working hand in hand with such organizations as the Foundation for the Social Security of Active and Reserve

Servicemen, the Officers' Union, and the 'Homecoming' Committee. We have nothing to divide. In the future, however, some of them may cease functioning. This is understandable, because our committee is a state structure which can defend the servicemen's interests with greater efficiency and consistency.

[Chernenko] *What about the Committee of Soldiers' Mothers?*

[Gajdukevich] We maintain business contacts with it. Our goals are the same, and we work jointly. I see the future of this organization as a section of our committee.

[Chernenko] *Could you tell us a few words about yourself?*

[Gajdukevich] I am a 38-year-old Belarusian. I was born in the village of Karolina, in Krupitskiy region. I have served in the Army since 1972. I am a colonel. I graduated from the Minsk Air Defense Engineering School and the correspondence department of the Military Academy. Later, I served as an engineer and commander in different garrisons. I also performed my international duty in Iraq. I am married, with two children.

## Moldova

### Snegur Receives Romanian Envoy, Suggests Summit

*AU0405151493 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1105 GMT 4 May 93*

[Text] The president of the Republic of Moldova, Mircea Snegur, today received Mihail Rujoi, Romania's charge d'affaires ad interim in the Republic of Moldova, on the beginning of his diplomatic mission in Chisinau.

The discussions focused on a number of issues regarding intensifying economic integration and consolidating our common cultural and spiritual area to bring the two states closer to European democratic trends and values.

On this occasion, Mircea Snegur said that a summit between the leaderships of the Republic of Moldova and Romania would be welcome in May to give an impetus to relations in areas of common interest, a fact that would demonstrate, President Snegur emphasized, that relations between the two states have not cooled off, as some circles in Chisinau hold.

The two sides also discussed the sociopolitical situation in the Eastern rayons of the Republic of Moldova; they stressed the importance of eliminating current tension exclusively through political methods that will result in observance of the sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity of the Republic of Moldova and the ensuring of human rights, regardless of ethnic origin, our envoy in Chisinau, Calin Petrescu, reports.

### UN Experts View Financial Aid Requirements

*AU0505114993 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1930 GMT 4 May 93*

[Text] Chisinau, BASAPRESS 4/5/1993—In the context of consolidating the management of external economical resources, the necessity for elaborating a project concerning this activity is becoming more urgent, claimed in the course of a press conference organised on the 3 May Winston Temple, who permanently represents the United Nations Organisation in Moldova and Ajit Banerjee, the expert for social development of the UN. The cited sources indicated that only in the event of implementing this programme will some important credits amounting to between 500 million - 1 billion dollars reach Moldova. In addition, the representatives of the UN estimated that Moldova needs considerable foreign financial resources to transform the economy, introduce up-date technology and means of production. Attracting foreign investors in Moldova will be encouraged by the process of privatisation, resolution of social-political problems and the efficient utilisation of internal resources, communicated Winston Temple and Ajit Banerjee.

### Sangheli Heads Delegation to Israel, Meets With President

*AU0505120093 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1930 GMT 4 May 93*

[Text] Chisinau, BASAPRESS 4/5/1993—In the course of the visit of the Moldovan official delegation to Israel, the Prime Minister Andrei Sangheli, the head of the delegation, this morning met with the president of Israel, states the communique released by the press department of the Ministry of External Affairs from Moldova. During the meeting different questions concerning numerous aspects of bilateral relations between the two states were discussed. In the afternoon of the same day Andrei Sangheli was offered an audience with Yitzhaq Rabin the Prime Minister of Israel. While exchanging opinions, the necessity of collaborating in the economical sphere between those two states was emphasized. The chief of the executive power of Israel confirmed once again the intentions of Tel-Aviv government to provide considerable assistance in the domain of agriculture, up-date technology, science, medicine and in energy. During the meeting from the Moldovan side participated Nicolae Tau, the minister of external affairs, Vitalie Gorinciol, the minister of agriculture and food and the deputy Dumitru Motpan. Those two heads of Government signed a memorandum concerning collaboration between the Republic of Moldova and Israel. The visit by the Moldovan delegation to Israel continues.

## Kyrgyzstan

### Uzbek Troops Conducted Exercises on Territory

*LD0505111493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0940 GMT 5 May 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Maynayev]

[Text] Bishkek, 5 May—A scandal is developing in connection with the report of certain Kyrgyz newspapers that Uzbek paratroopers recently carried out exercises in Kyrgyz territory.

It was confirmed to an ITAR-TASS correspondent by the press service of the president of the Kyrgyz Republic that in the last days of March, the Fergana paratroopers carried out demonstration military exercises in the Kaydamdzhayskiy rayon of the Osh oblast. This had not been agreed upon either with the Kyrgyzstan state committee for defense matters or with any other government body. When the head of the local militia department tried to find out if the paratroopers of the neighboring state had permission to use the Uch-Kurganskiy training ground, Major General Soluyanov, commander of the subunit, expressed regret about the lack of coordination between the armed forces of the two countries and referred to the treaty between the akims (presidential representatives) of the Osh and Fergana oblasts.

"But we believe, noted a senior official of the presidential apparatus, that the concentration and deployment of fighting equipment in territory that borders on the Kara-Teginskaya valley in Tajikistan, where the situation remains complicated, is fraught with negative consequences. Besides, the presence of troops of one state in the territory of another state should be agreed at the highest interstate level. [no end quotation marks as received]

### German Parliamentary Delegation Visits

*LD0505103193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0921 GMT 5 May 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Mainayev]

[Text] Bishkek May 5 TASS—A delegation of members of the German Bundestag (parliament), which arrived in the Kyrgyz capital Bishkek on Tuesday [4 May], has devoted its visit to acquainting themselves with the Republic of Kyrgyzstan.

Today the delegation, with Socialist International Vice-President Hans- Jochen Vogel at its head, was received by President Asker Akayev. The president acquainted the German guests with the reform process in the republic and its economic problems.

The German parliamentarians' visit will last 5 days. During their stay they will meet the prime minister, entrepreneurs and industrialists of the republic. They will also visit plants and factories in Bishkek, museums and tourist sights and tour the cities of Osh and Talas.

### Akayev Comments on Status of Russian Language

*LD0405163893 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1500 GMT 4 May 93*

[Text] At an evening sitting today, the parliament of Kyrgyzstan returned to the article of Kyrgyzstan's new constitution which deals with the status of the Russian language. Speaking on this issue, President Askar Akayev said that the formulation being demanded by some deputies on giving Russian the status of the language of interethnic communication was one of the dogmas of the communist era. In philological science the concept of a language of interethnic communication does not exist, Akayev stressed.

### Article Left Unchanged

*LD0405174393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1641 GMT 4 May 93*

[By KYRGYZKABAR correspondent Albert Bogdanov for TASS]

[Text] Bishkek May 4 TASS—An article of the Kyrgyz Constitution, which gives each Russian-speaking Kyrgyz citizen the legal guarantee of non-infringement of his rights due to the lack of knowledge of the Kyrgyz language and gives the Russian language the guarantee of development and functioning, will be left unchanged, under a decision of the Kyrgyz Parliament.

The decision to the effect was taken at the parliament evening session after a passionate speech of President Askar Akayev.

"We must quit political intrigues and stop to take our people in with introducing in the constitution the notion of 'a language of inter-ethnic communication'. Linguists do not know such. There is a state, official language," he said.

"We need the great Russia, our ancestors connected their fate with. The constitutional article gives the legal guarantee for preservation and development of the great Russian language. This is the guarantee of our friendship".

The parliament speaker did not even put on voting the amendment to the article.

### Supreme Soviet Approves Republic's Formal Name

*LD0505064793 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0600 GMT 5 May 93*

[Text] The law-based, secular, sovereign, unitary, and democratic Republic of Kyrgyzstan—this is how Kyrgystan is to be called from now on. The article of the new republican constitution, stating the new description of the republic, was approved today by the Kyrgyzstan Supreme Soviet, RIA reports.

## Tajikistan

### Opposition Forces Driven Out of Pamir Region

*LD0505091293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0837 GMT 5 May 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Dushanbe, May 5 (TASS)—Tajik opposition militants were driven out by government troops from Tavildara region of Tajikistan at the foot of the Pamir mountains which they invaded from the nearby Gorno-Badakhshan region, according to military sources.

However, local observers say that the anti-governmental militants control several areas in Gorno-Badakhshan and will remain a problem for local and central authorities.

Local militants are supported by Tajik opposition units based in border areas of Afghanistan. Several reports said the units are headed by Davlat Usmon, a leader of the Islamic Party of Revival of Tajikistan and former deputy prime minister of the Tajik coalition government.

A senior Tajik military official admitted that opposition militants have serious intentions, but said their attempts to "impose on the people of Tajikistan a new upsurge of armed confrontation and to import guerrilla war" are doomed to failure.

### Military Aircraft Shot Down in Border Fighting

*LD0405151093 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 1200 GMT 4 May 93*

[Text] According to a report by a KHOVAR correspondent, citing the press office of the Defense Ministry of the Republic of Tajikistan, recently the situation has become tense along the Tajik-Afghan border especially in the direction of Shurabad and Kala-i Khum where the movement of militant groups has been noted.

According to information available, toward the end of April an armed group, numbering hundreds, belonging to the Tajik Democratic Party and the Islamic Revival Party [IRP], led by opposition leaders Davlat Usmon and Mullah Abdulgafar has gathered inside Afghan territory near the Tajik border.

According to the report, two-thirds of the members of the group are inhabitants of Afghanistan. They have been properly trained and are well armed. Similarly, other small groups which can fight well in mountainous conditions are being formed on the territory of Afghanistan. It is expected that their main task in Tajikistan will be to set up so-called [words indistinct] bases for future terrorist activities.

Russian border guards, during the last days of April and on 1 May, prevented several attempts by IRP militants to violate the border. These militants have been active in the region of Shurabad for some time. One of the border posts of the Russian border guards was shelled near the [name indistinct] locality.

According to the latest information, government troops along with the Russian border guard on 3 May clashed with a group of IRP militants who penetrated the Tajik-Afghan border near the Shah, Yol, Parvar, and Rejo villages. Afghan citizens and sold-out mojahedin were among the group.

During the operations aircraft were also used to cleanse these villages of militants. A military aircraft of the Republic of Tajikistan Air Force was shot down by three U.S. Stinger rockets. The crew ejected safely.

The press office of the Defense Ministry of the Republic of Tajikistan has not yet received information on the number of those injured or killed during combat operations.

### Defense Ministry Statement

*LD0405191193 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 1700 GMT 4 May 93*

[Statement issued by the Defense Ministry press office; place and date not given]

[Text] Russian television's Vesti program reported on 3 May that militants of the Islamic Rebirth Party [IRP] have shot down a military aircraft of the Republic of Uzbekistan in Tajikistan airspace.

The press office of the Defense Ministry of the Republic of Tajikistan is authorized to state that this report does not correspond to the facts of the matter.

An armed group of the IRP, including mojahedin, crossed the border and penetrated three to five km inside Tajikistan territory. In the course of clashes, the military units of the government, assisted by the Russian border guards, closed the escape routes of the border violators. Aircraft also took part in the operation to liberate the of villages of Shah, Yol, Parvar, and Rejo. Three U.S.-made Stinger missiles shot down not an Uzbek aircraft, as claimed in the report, but a SU-24 military aircraft of the air force of the Republic of Tajikistan. The crew were able to eject safely. They are alive and have been evacuated from the scene of the incident.

The press office of the Defense Ministry of the Republic of Tajikistan points out to the representatives of the mass media that it is impermissible to publish unverified reports from incompetent sources on events in the republic.

Such reports, in the present military and political situation in Central Asia, not only harm the persecuted people of Tajikistan but could adversely affect the political situation in the country and the good-neighborly relations between the republic and neighboring states.

## Turkmenistan

### President, Iranian Minister Discuss Economic Ties

*LD0105162893 Tehran IRNA in English 1453 GMT 1 May 93*

[Text] Moscow, May 1, (IRNA)—Iranian Minister of Commerce 'Abdol-Hoseyn Vahaji and Turkmen President Saparmurad Niyazov, discussed economic and commercial cooperations between the two countries in Askhabad Friday [30 April].

Niyazov underlined his country's interest in boosting ties with the Islamic republic and said Turkmenistan would like to open consulates in other Iranian cities on a reciprocal basis.

He also emphasized the necessity for utilizing Caspian Sea resources in the framework of the Caspian Sea Littoral Cooperation Organization.

Vahaji who is visiting Ashkhabad at the head of a high-ranking delegation, called on member states of the Economic Cooperation Organisation (ECO) to step up efforts to solve Turkmenistan's economic and commercial problems.

Turkmenistan, along with five other Muslim republics of the former Soviet Union, joined ECO last year. Iran, Pakistan and Turkey are the founding members of the 10-nation organisation whose latest member is Afghanistan.

Vahaji also voiced Iran's readiness to set up joint border markets and provide visa facilities for either country's businessmen.

He further said that Tehran was prepared to assist Ashkhabad in rebuilding its refineries and provide consultations on gas pipe-lines which was welcomed by the Turkmen president.

### President Denounces Attempts To Isolate Iran

*NC2404125293 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 0330 GMT 24 Apr 93*

[Text] The Turkmen president has described U.S. concern over the growing Tehran-Ashgabat relations as exaggerated. Saparmurad Atayevich Niyazov, during a meeting with a Western economic delegation, said that his country's relations with the Islamic Republic of Iran—with which Turkmenistan has a long common border—were friendly and based on nonintervention in one another's affairs.

The Turkmen president stressed that the construction of a gas pipeline from Turkmenistan to Europe that will pass through Iran will certainly be carried out with the cooperation with the Islamic Republic of Iran.

During the meeting, the Turkmen president said: The time has come for all to know that it is impossible to try to isolate Iran and prevent its participation in international projects.

## Uzbekistan

### Clan System Seen Posing Problems for Karimov

*PM0405140393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Apr 93 First Edition p 6*

[Vladimir Berezovskiy report: "Islam Karimov 'Operates' Without Anaesthetic"]

[Text] Tashkent—This year the Uzbek president has already removed three oblast hakims (governors). On this occasion the ax fell on the leader of Surkhandarya in the south of the country. Before that the hakims of Andizhan and Dzhizak were removed.

Why does the Uzbek leader feel compelled to resort to such drastic measures? Unfortunately this is a recurrence of the chronic eastern ailment of local favoritism, which is taking the form of a savage clan war for the "lucrative" posts. Appetites have been whetted by the division of the enormous reserves of state property which has begun.

In Denauskiy Rayon, for example, the rivalry between "Guzartsy" [men from the Guzar area] and "highlanders" ["gortsy"] has developed into open warfare. The result is 12 homes burned, one person dead, and another seriously injured. Furthermore, local militia chief Choriyev "fought" on the side of one of the clans. One of the criminal gangs terrorizing residents is headed by a man called Khaydarov—brother of Bazarov, first deputy chief of the oblast militia.

In circumstances like these it goes without saying that the law applies only to small fry and "outsiders." A system has been established whereby the victims write letters and retract their statements, the evidence of court medical examinations is ignored, and various pretexts are used to cover up crimes. The criminals escape with little more than a severe ticking off. A man by the name of Aktishev, who stole 32 machine guns from a military depot, was given just one year. In Surkhandarya one crime in three is a serious one and dozens of murders, robberies, rapes, serious burglaries, and embezzlement have gone unsolved.

"Thieving" ["rastashchilovka"] has reached enormous proportions. People are trading in virtually anything: cotton thread, ambulances, grain, and early cabbage.

In the oblasts mosques are springing up like mushrooms. There are already almost 100 in Denau alone. Furthermore, they are often built on the orders of local leaders and the money is raised from local commercial structures. Islam Karimov has even stated in a fit of temper that "either you carry out your proper duties as a hakim or you take the turban and become an imam in a mosque."

The problem of who should become a hakim—a local or an outsider—is becoming increasingly urgent in Uzbekistan. The local governors did not survive in Termez and Andizhan and came under the thumb of local clans. In Dzhizak the "patriots" prevented the governor who had been sent in from doing his job.

In the past, under the CPSU, as a rule the role of "switchboard" ["blokirator"] was played in part by party committee second secretaries and soviet first deputy chairmen who had been sent in. In the new conditions the Uzbek leadership still has to think of a system of "buttresses" to keep the administrative "pyramid" in a state of equilibrium.

## Armenia

### Foreign Ministry Issues Statement on Fighting

*NC0405160493 Yerevan Radio Yerevan in Azeri 1330 GMT 4 May 93*

["Text" of a statement by the Foreign Ministry on recent Azerbaijani operations; date not given—read by announcer]

[Text] Azerbaijan launched wide-scale military operations against Armenia, beginning on the night of 30 April. The Azerbaijan Armed Forces fired on the border areas in Sisian, Yekhegnadzor, Kapan, and Krasnoselsk Rayons with various types of arms, including large-caliber weapons. Azerbaijan's emplacements fired intensely on Voskepar, (Barigamavan), (Sofi), and Mekhriban in Noyemberyan Rayon with tanks on 1 May. Five people were killed and several wounded. Meanwhile, one of Azerbaijan's armed units violated Armenia's border in the vicinity of (Boverk) in [name indistinct] Rayon. The unit was forced to retreat as a result of measures put into effect by the Armenian border guards. Consequently, Azerbaijan, which provoked military tension through its aggressive operations from its border, has disrupted the peaceful situation in the region.

Azerbaijan is fully responsible for the increased scale of military operations. This state of affairs completely conflicts with the UN Security Council's call for an end to military operations and the resumption of peaceful talks within the CSCE framework [words indistinct].

The Armenian Foreign Ministry expresses hope that the United Nations and other international organizations will, henceforth, [words indistinct] on the peace process.

Regardless of the conflict between Azerbaijan's propaganda campaign and [word indistinct], the international support given to Azerbaijan's demands encourages that republic to maintain its military policies. Azerbaijan clearly is ignoring the international public and the UN resolutions. The expansion of military operations immediately after the UN Security Council resolution indicates once again that the main question is the resumption of the talks.

### Welcomes UN Resolution

*NC0405195493 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1830 GMT 4 May 93*

[Text] The Armenian Foreign Ministry has assessed UN Resolution 822 on the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict as a step by the United Nations to take a more active part in the Nagorno-Karabakh talks.

The Foreign Ministry welcomes the UN Security Council resolution to the extent that it corresponds with Armenia's position, which holds that the halting of military operations, the establishment of a permanent cease-fire, and the immediate resumption of peace talks within the CSCE framework are the only ways to peacefully resolve the Karabakh problem and the complex Kelbadzharskiy question.

Of equal importance is the UN Security Council's call to lift the obstacles blocking humanitarian assistance to civilians.

The Armenian Foreign Ministry believes that a number of points in the resolution do not correspond with the Armenian Government's position. Our UN permanent representative has submitted the reservations about these differences to the UN Security Council president and members.

The Armenian Foreign Ministry hopes this resolution will succeed in forcing Azerbaijan to return to the negotiating table in order to speed up and contribute toward halting the military operations and establishing a stable cease-fire for the sake of peacefully resolving the Nagorno-Karabakh problem.

### President Meets Uruguay's Envoy, Views Karabakh Security

*NC0405184293 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1700 GMT 4 May 93*

[Excerpts] Uruguayan Ambassador Alejando Lorenzo y Losada handed in his credentials to Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan today. He is also Uruguay's ambassador to Russia. [passage omitted]

The president briefed the ambassador on Armenia's position on the peaceful resolution of the Karabakh problem. This position is to bring about an immediate cease-fire without preconditions and to commence peace talks. Ter-Petrosyan drew the ambassador's attention to the fact that Nagorno-Karabakh is an exclusively Armenian territory in which nearly 200,000 people live and that at present self-defense is their only security guarantee. The international community so far has (?not created) any other security guarantees for Nagorno-Karabakh's people. The Armenian president stressed that Nagorno-Karabakh and Armenia are sincerely working for peace and have put forward constructive proposals during all the negotiations. Unfortunately, the opposite side has not responded to them. Ter- Petrosyan hoped that in the future the international community will come forward with more productive initiatives for the peaceful resolution of the conflict.

The two sides then emphasized the importance of their relations.

Deputy Foreign Minister Gevorg Gazinyan, Uruguayan Embassy officials, and other officials attended the meeting.

### Commission To Oversee Export Control of Weapons Materials

*NC0405151193 Yerevan SNARK in English 1004 GMT 4 May 93*

[Text] Yerevan, 4 Apr (SNARK)—The Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan has signed the decree on control of the export of the raw, equipment, technology, science and technical information and services which are of great importance for Armenia and which are being applied in military machines and ammunition production. Those of peaceful importance should also be under the control, especially such raw, equipment, technology, information and services which can be used in nuclear, chemical, missiles and other weapons production.

In accordance with the decree there will be created the Commission on Export Control which will be headed by the Armenian vice-premier. The commission will consist of head of the Armenian State Department on National Security and the first deputy of the head of the Armenian Military and Industrial Commission. The decree says that the idea on commission creation is connected with the intentions to fulfill the international obligations on non-spreading the weapons of mass destruction and other kinds of weapons.

## Azerbaijan

### Security Minister: Armenian Troops Leaving Kelbadzhar

*LD0405174893 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 4 May 93*

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] In Kelbadzhar Rayon in Azerbaijan, the withdrawal of Armenian troops in accordance with UN Security Council demands in Resolution 822 has begun, said Azerbaijani National Security Minister Takhmazov today.

Despite the cease-fire accords in the Nagorno-Karabakh republic, the Azerbaijani side has again violated the cease-fire. Several Azerbaijani military helicopters violated the airspace of Nagorno- Karabakh from the Azerbaijani side this morning. The helicopters flew around the positions of the self-defense forces. According to the data of the Self-Defense Committee, manpower and combat equipment of the Azerbaijani troops continue to be concentrated in Agdamskiy and Fizulinskiy rayons.

### Armenian Acts Called Attempt To 'Torpedo' UN Resolutions

*NC0305153893 Baku ASSA-IRADA in English 1339 GMT 3 May 93*

[Text] Baku, 03.05.93 (ASSA-IRADA)—Armenia torpedoes the decision of UNSC [United Nations Security Council] informed Azerbaijan Defence Ministry. The villages of Kechikly, Razdere, Kollukyshlak, Meshadiismailly of Zangelanskiy District in the south-west of Azerbaijan were shelled from Armenian territory at night of May 3. Two missiles launched from Armenian territory on May 1, fell on the territory of Iran.

The situation aggravated at western districts of Azerbaijan bordering upon Armenia. In the morning of May 1, the armed forces of Armenia having violated the frontier invaded the territory of Azerbaijan Kazakhskiy district, and occupied frontier villages of Farakhli, Kushchi-Ayrum and Mezem. The aggressor retreated at 1500, having left the burnt villages. The diversion Armenian group killed two Azeri shepherds and shot down 15 head of cattle near the frontier village of Kemerli. As a result of mortar firing from the Armenian territory, a woman and child [passage indistinct] of Kazakh district Kushchi-Ayrum village were killed on May 2. The Armenian artillery shelled the district centre of Kazakh on the same day. Three men were wounded including a citizen of Georgia. There are ravages, five families were left homeless.

At present 6 villages of Kazakh district are occupied by armed forces of Armenia. The more villages are in the zone of military operations. There are 7000 refugees.

The latest activity of Armenian Armed Forces are regarded as the attempt of the Armenia side to torpedo the resolution N. 822 of UN Security Council on withdrawal of all occupational troops from the territory of Azerbaijan.

### Elchibey, Georgian Vice Premier Hold Cooperation Talks

*OW0305143993 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Russian 1500 GMT 29 Apr 93*

[From the "Telefaks" newscast]

[Text] Abulfaz Elchibey, President of Azerbaijan yesterday received Zurab Kervalishvili, the vice premier of Georgia. In briefing the KHABAR-SERVICE correspondent, the presidential press service noted that issues of bilateral cooperation were discussed during the talks.

### Elchibey To Visit Great Britain in Late May

*NC0405160793 Baku TURAN in English 1124 GMT 4 May 93*

[Text] Baku, 4 May (TURAN)—The presidents press-service informs that President Elchibey will pay an official visit to Great Britain at the end of May on the invitation of the British Prime Minister John Major.

During the visit, which will last 4 days, Elchibey will have meetings with Major, the British Parliaments members and representatives of the British public. An individual meeting with former Prime-Minister Margaret Thatcher is expected too.

As the press-service informs, the aim of the visit is to deepening bilateral Azeri-British political and economic links.

### Guseynov, Turkish Parliamentarians Discuss Cooperation

*NC0505100493 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 4 May 93*

[Text] Prime Minister Panakh Guseynov today received a Turkish parliamentary delegation headed by Bulent [name indistinct], deputy and head of the Turkey-Azerbaijan Friendship Group within the Turkish Grand National Assembly. Guseynov briefed the visiting delegation on the sociopolitical situation in the republic, the way reforms are being realized, the changes effected in the Council of Ministers to enlarge its structure, and the work being done to improve the administrative mechanisms in Azerbaijan.

The sides also discussed issues relating to further improving cooperation between the two fraternal countries in the political, economic, and cultural fields and exchanged views on removing problems in the effort to improve relations between Turkey and Azerbaijan.

### Ministers Accuse Opposition of Harming Political Situation

*NC0405174993 Baku ASSA-IRADA in English 1620 GMT 4 May 93*

[Text] Baku, 04.05.93 (ASSA-IRADA)—The meeting of Milli Mejlis was very heated this morning, ASSA-IRADA parliamentary correspondent reports. The speeches of ministers of interior affairs, national security and procurator-general caused different reaction. The idea was expressed in their speeches that parties Milli Istiglal [National Independence] and Yeni Azerbaijan [New Azerbaijan] play a special role in tension of political situation, organizations of pickets and street processions which took place in Gyandzha and Geokchayskiy District.

In response to this accusation, Mr. Etibar Mamedov, leader of the opposition and member of parliament said that ministers showed their partial attitude to Milli Istiglal party and all this campaign was organized for one purpose—to ban the activity of this party. Mr. Arif Ragimov, deputy of the Supreme Soviet submitted the letter to Milli Mejlis, signed by deputies with the demand to convene the next session of the Supreme Soviet. Mr. Tamerlan Karayev, deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet who was presiding at the meeting, said that this letter has no legal basis and that's why cannot be the subject of discussion at the Milli Mejlis. He gave instructions to find out some facts, connected with this letter.

## Georgia

### West Not To 'Become Involved' in CIS Disputes

*LD0405130593 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1100 GMT 4 May 93*

[Text] There is no point in counting on the West to help settle the disputed issues between Georgia and Russia. This was the message of Georgian Defense Minister Tengiz Kitovani's speech today at the parliament of the Republic of Georgia, which came the day after his return from a visit to Brussels.

Further to this statement, the minister underscored that they have to settle the disputed issues with Russia on their own. In his words, the Western countries fear the Russian nuclear monster and do not intend to become involved in settling differences between the former mother country and republics of the former Soviet Union.

### Kitovani Says Russian Reactionaries Support Abkhazia

*LD0405173793 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 4 May 93*

[By N. Kandiashvili and D. Machalidze; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The situation in the conflict zone between Georgia and Abkhazia remained tense today. On the frontlines, by the Gumista river, Ardzinba's Gudauta detachments again opened fire in the direction of the positions of the Georgian Armed Forces and Sukhumi. Shells exploded in the city's new district and resulted in the death of one civilian and the wounding of six. In the meantime, in an address to the republican parliamentary session today, Georgian Defense Minister Tenghiz Kitovani—who has recently returned from the Brussels meeting of NATO defense ministers—announced openly and officially for the first time that Ardzinba's Gudauta group was supported by powerful reactionary forces in Russia. Kitovani said: I am confident that only a meeting between Yeltsin and Shevardnadze can influence the situation in the conflict zone.

### Shevardnadze Meets With CSCE Delegation

*LD0405194993 Tbilisi CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY in Russian 1328 GMT 4 May 93*

[Text] Mr. Eduard Shevardnadze, chairman of the Georgian parliament and head of state, recently received a delegation representing the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which had spent several days studying the situation in the Tskhinvali region. The leader of the delegation acquainted the head of state with the results of his work. He noted that the situation in the region of the former South Ossetia was extremely complex and spoke about ways to emerge from the crisis. He

assured the head of state that the delegation of the CSCE will do everything in its power to improve the situation in the region.

Having thanked the leader of the CSCE delegation for the work he had done, E. Shevardnadze noted that the relations that are gradually being established between the Georgian and Ossetian populations in the region offer some hope. It was noted that because of the existing state of affairs, the increased interest of neighboring countries, particularly Ukraine and Turkey, is a significant factor in the region. The establishment of an international center for the settlement of conflicts would facilitate stabilization in the region.

## Shevardnadze Addresses Parliament on Cabinet Nominations

*LD0505092993 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0400 GMT 5 May 93*

[Speech by State Council Chairman Eduard Shevardnadze to parliament in Tbilisi on 4 May—recorded]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] The parliament has not confirmed the nominations of the deputy prime minister and the defense minister. I accept these reprimands addressed to me, since, together with the prime minister, I am to submit these issues to the parliament. I am not justifying myself now, but you should realize what caused the present problem. You know when the cabinet of ministers was being formed, many problems arose regarding the confirmation of nominations of many ministers. I am asking the parliament now to find other ministerial candidates. You remember, we had certain difficulties in confirming the nomination of the prime minister. We found a common language and accepted the decision that we needed at that stage. I knew then that if I were to ask the parliament to confirm Mr. Kitovani as the defense minister or confirm the nomination of the deputy prime minister, I was not 100 percent sure that they would be confirmed. I knew it was better to adhere to those nominations as I was not ready then to suggest anybody else's nomination. I am sorry. It is not my fault alone. I did not know who was available. I was not acquainted with the personnel or cadres. I was not acquainted with the commanders of military units. I am not saying that I do not like the deputy prime minister and that the defense minister should necessarily be a military man—he can be a civilian, but then I was not ready for that either. This process has dragged on a while. Today I have a better and more realistic picture of the army. The army is still being formed with difficulties but, still, we are getting there. I have a good picture of the army's cadres and its subunits. [passage omitted]

I think the time has come for candidates to be legally elected and appointed.

## Sigua Holds Talks With PRC Ambassador

*LD0405200293 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1510 GMT 4 May 93*

[Text] Georgian Prime Minister Tengiz Sigua met Wang Fengxiang, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of China, on 4 May. Tengiz Sigua familiarized him with the political and economic situation in Georgia, the issues of the package of agreements on cooperation between the two countries, and also the situation at the negotiations between Russia and Georgia. He emphasized that the Georgian Government attaches great importance to strengthening relations with China and the forthcoming official visit of Eduard Shevardnadze, chairman of the Georgian parliament and head of state, to China.

For his part, the ambassador mentioned the processes taking place in China and the development of the economic reforms. He pointed out that the government of the People's Republic of China takes an understanding view of Georgia's economic difficulties. In his opinion this is a temporary situation. He welcomes the attempts of the Georgian leadership to build a democratic society, to find ways out of the economic crisis, and to settle peacefully the Georgian- Abkhazian conflict.

Issues of interest to both sides were discussed at the talks. It was stated that both sides are striving to support in the first instance the strengthening of economic and trade relations between the two countries.

The information has been released by the press service of the Georgian Cabinet of Ministers and the SAKINFORM agency.

## Chikvaidze, French Envoy Discuss Joint Ties

*LD0505103793 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0400 GMT 5 May 93*

[Text] Yesterday, Georgian Minister of Foreign Affairs Aleksandr Chikvaidze met French Ambassador to Georgia Bernard Fatier. They discussed mutually interesting issues for both countries. The ambassador said it would be of a great importance for France to establish bilateral, friendly relations with the Transcaucasian republics and with Georgia, in particular. Meanwhile, France abides by the accepted international norms of the principles of territorial unity and integrity. The minister familiarized the ambassador with the situation in Georgia, saying it would be expedient for France to study in detail Georgia's peaceful initiative in stopping the Azerbaijan-Armenian conflict. France has already expressed interest in this matter.

The sides agreed that it would be most useful to sign political, economic, and cultural agreements in the near future, and would create a legal basis for effective cooperation.

The minister emphasized the importance of close cooperation not only in bilateral relations but also in international organizations.

He urged France to back up Georgia's initiative in settling conflicts not only in Georgia but in the Caucasus, in general.

During the meeting, an interest was expressed in exchanging students and specialists with France. France was asked to render help in training young diplomats, organizing their study trips, and exchanging information.

The ambassador was given a package of drafts of documents prepared at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for supporting investments, cultural relations, and the cooperation of the two countries' foreign ministries. These will be signed following an agreement with relevant organizations in France.

The issues connected with establishing the embassy of the Republic of France were discussed.

Mr. Bernard Fatier will hand over his credentials to the head of the Georgian state, Mr. Eduard Shevardnadze, at the end of this week.

### Top Military Adviser Discusses Abkhazian War

*AU0405122593 Tbilisi NOVAYA GAZETA in Russian No. 12, Apr 93 p 5*

[Interview with Colonel Vladimir Chikovani, military adviser to the Georgian Armed Forces' commander in chief, by Ketino Bochorishvili; place and date not given: "The Key To Resolving the Abkhazian Problem Is Only Through Negotiations"]

[Excerpts] Recent events in the Abkhazian region have once again confirmed the fear that the prolonged war will lead all the sides participating in it into an impasse. First and foremost, as Colonel Vladimir Chikovani, a regular cadreman, military adviser to the commander in chief of the Republic of Georgia Armed Forces, maintains, this is happening because the actions of the military command of the Operational Group of the Russian Armed Forces in Abkhazia are preventing us from resolving our problems ourselves.

[Bochorishvili] Batono Vladimir, the other day, you sent a letter to the aforementioned military command, an extract from which, if you will allow me, I will read: "You have arrived on foreign soil bearing weapons. Your weapons are killing Georgians, Abkhazians, Russians, and Armenians in equal numbers. You are becoming immoral because you have used the right of the strong man not to halt the fratricidal war but to continue and prolong it. Without you, we would have resolved our business through negotiations and national diplomacy a long time ago. I do not exclude the possibility of armed confrontations. However, there would have been fewer than those today and the casualties would not have been so numerous had you not been present." It seems that you have gained the right to make such a statement not only as a military adviser...

[Chikovani] ...but also as an observer, twice, in November of last year and February of this year, having been at the deployment locations of the airborne regiment and once barely escaping being taken hostage by the enemy.

I really know what is going on, if you also consider that I know the region like the back of my hand. Abkhazia is my homeland. What caused me to write to their command? The recent events in April when the myth (if there ever was one) about "the peacemaking mission" was finally shattered; a mission, with which, according to Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev, the full-blooded airborne regiment arrived in this region at the beginning of the war and scattered their subunits from Gudauta to the ill-fated laboratory in Eshera. "The Operational Group of Russian Armed Forces in Abkhazia" was formed on the basis of this regiment, having the most modern weapons, ranging from the "Nona" and "Akatsia" self-propelled guns to the SU-27 fighter aircraft, and it now reliably protects Vladislav Ardzinba and his headquarters in Gudauta from any shelling and bombardments by providing a security hood with a radius of 50 km and an altitude of nine km. It would be fine if it confined itself to protection. However, as a result of combat actions by subunits of the airborne troops, peaceful inhabitants of Sukhumi are dying beneath their shells and bombs.

[Bochorishvili] Evidently, the men in this regiment are being well paid?

[Chikovani] Rather well. One year's service counts for three for them. Therefore, they receive a triple wage.

[Bochorishvili] Can one suppose that Russian troops are carrying out separate operations independently, without orders from the supreme command?

[Chikovani] There are grounds for saying that individual groups of servicemen are carrying out many actions independently. There are times when they are no longer subordinate to the command of their military units. Let us say, a tank or infantry fighting vehicle [IFV] has entered onto the territory of the laboratory some 20 kilometers from it. Here it acts independently, as it sees fit. At the same time, I cannot accuse the same General Chindarov of sanctioning, on his own initiative, actions aimed at the systematic destruction of our installations. He, of course, receives such permission from above.

[Bochorishvili] The Eshera laboratory, which has been the center of attention, is playing a far from minor role in the escalation of combat actions....

[Chikovani] In that place, in Eshera, where the military subunit of Captain Safiullin is stationed is a residential area for the laboratory's employees, barracks, and a number of auxiliary public amenities. There is no seismic laboratory there and never has been. The real

one is located to northeast of the village of Kutyshkha; first of all, there is no staff there at the moment and, second, all the equipment is located underground. So, the laboratory in Eshera is just a pretext used by the Russian side to justify its strikes against the positions of the Georgian troops and the city of Sukhumi.

The Gudauta fighters are using this opportunity splendidly. It is sufficient for them to fire at the laboratory from their rocket launchers and a squall of Russian artillery fire comes in our direction. Or an Abkhazian IFV-2 will open fire at the 901st separate airborne assault battalion stationed at Mayak [Beacon] (as happened on 20 February), since distance allows the separatists to do this, and the bombing of the city begins, resulting in the deaths of tens of innocent people. Incidentally, the father of your colleague Tengiz Pachkoriya was killed in such a bombing. If they investigated, they would see that our battalions do not have any IFV-2's in this region.

In general, the laboratory in itself has enormous scientific significance. From the military point of view, it was valuable when the Soviet Union existed and the USSR Armed Forces were opposed to the NATO bloc. Thanks to the laboratory, where the slightest earth tremors are registered, NATO's southern flank was essentially under the control of the USSR's Ministry of Defense.

If we received the laboratory, we would not set ourselves such a task; it would be purely scientific. From the military point of view, it can be used for the following aims: If someone, let's say Korea, starts to test an atomic weapon, we will register the explosion, give the information to the world community, and then watch for any tectonic changes.

[Bochorishvili] Batono Vladimir, the war has acquired a protracted character. What are the reasons for this and where does the key lie in resolving the problem?

[Chikovani] First, this war in itself is very difficult and, from a military point of view, "awkward." This is a local conflict and in such wars there are no heroes. This is not a Russian-French or patriotic war in which the opponent is known and who has to be simply driven off one's land. Here the opponent lives in his village; the frontline passes by his house, divides families, leaving the Abkhazian husband on one side and the Georgian wife on the other. In this case, this concerns not so much the Gumista confrontation where the opponents are facing one another as the Ochamchire-Tkvarcheli zone where the combat actions are reminiscent of a partisan war. Its flash points flare up in different places at different times: near Labra, near Merkula, near Katsikhabla, and near Beslakhuba. Not only Abkhazian and Georgian villages are being destroyed here but also the genetic fund of both nations, one which, moreover, is pure and exists against the rural and not urban background. Even soldiers do not want to go there to fight, preferring the Gumista confrontation.

The second reason for the protracted nature of the war lies in the fact that we were not prepared for it from the very beginning. Remember how it started in general. [passage omitted]

The state of our units at the outbreak of the armed conflict corresponded in no way to the requirements of a war situation. There was no organization whatsoever, no discipline, no field communication equipment, and also no uniforms. We had to fight with whatever means were available. One person even had a German helmet.

Today, the picture in the Army is quite different and the last offensive by the Abkhazian Army, which we successfully repulsed, shows that our Army is improving. However, they are also not standing still. Therefore, the war could drag on interminably, sapping our strength. The key to a successful resolution is only through negotiations, whose starting point should be agreement on the withdrawal of the airborne troops from the territory of Abkhazia.

[Bochorishvili] However, one recalls that as early as mid-March, we were expecting help from the United Nations. Now it is becoming obvious that the permanent presence of even some kind of mechanism of control from the Security Council will not be provided. Why?

[Chikovani] You see, there has to be a pre-condition for the presence of UN troops here. First, until recently, there was no clear case of genocide. Second, the conflict remains, for the time being, a local one and there is no threat of a world war.

Furthermore, one should not believe that the introduction of UN troops is a measure that will save us. This is a costly operation. We are still too young as members of the organization and have yet to make a solid contribution as such.

The United Nations is, I repeat, an extreme measure. However, we are far from exhausting all means of a peaceful regulation of the conflict. National diplomacy has not gotten off the ground yet. All the possibilities of a negotiated process have not been used. [passage omitted]

## Estonia

### Einseln Accepts Defense Chief Post Despite U.S. Opposition

*WS0505072893 Tallinn BNS in English 1359 GMT 4 May 93*

[Text] Tallinn, May 04, BNS—The Estonian parliament in a secret voting today appointed Aleksander Einseln as the commander-in-chief of the country's defense forces. Einseln's nomination was approved by 82 MPs, while one abstained.

Einseln, a retired U.S. colonel, told the parliament he is ready to accept the post despite the fact that the U.S. authorities had disapproved his prior request.

"If the Estonian people so wish, I am ready to accept the post regardless of whether the United States wants it or not," Einseln said before the lawmakers.

The U.S. embassy in Tallinn has conveyed Washington's refusal to Einseln. "Secretary of State Warren Christopher has decided to disapprove Colonel Einseln's request for the U.S. Government's concurrence to his appointment as commander-in-chief of Estonian defense forces," an embassy spokesman told BNS. "It would be extraordinary for an American citizen to become chief of another nation's defense force," the spokesman cited the U.S. position on the issue.

Observers say Einseln's decision may deprive him of his U.S. pension. U.S. embassy officials said they had no information about the possibility of such measure.

Einseln's pension is estimated by observers at about two million Estonian kroons per year. In Estonia he could receive no more than several tens of thousands kroons in a year.

The new head of the defense force today admitted that his decision was likely to cause him inconveniences.

"This is my personal problem. In a democratic society it is possible to explain such situations and I intend to do so if necessary," he told reporters.

Einseln, 61, retired in 1985 as colonel of the U.S. land forces. He has fought both in the Korean and Vietnam wars. He has commanded infantry, armored infantry, special force and paratrooper units. Einseln has worked for two years at the General Staff of the U.S. land forces, and five years, at the Chiefs of Staff Chancellery, where he headed the planning section of the Europe and NATO department.

The new head of the Estonian defense force again underscored that all armed formations must stand clear of politics. Speaking about the former Soviet Army officers who have joined Estonia's forces, Einseln said changing the way of thinking was essential for them. "Those unable to do this will leave on their own accord," he said.

Einseln said he will do everything "according to the decisions of the people, that means, of the State Assembly".

### Government Abolishes More Visa Requirements

*LD0505104593 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 0609 GMT 5 May 93*

[Text] According to ETA, the government has introduced a visa-free regime unilaterally with ten countries. From now on citizens of the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Japan, Andorra, San Marino, Monaco, Liechtenstein, and the Vatican will be able to enter Estonia without a visa, solely on the strength of a valid passport. As is known, Estonia previously introduced a bilateral visa-free regime with nine countries; talks are in progress with Finland, Sweden, Iceland, and Norway. It is also planned to introduce a visa-free regime with those four countries.

### Government Initials Civil Aviation Pact With Ukraine

*WS0505085293 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 1519 GMT 4 May 93*

[Text] Tallinn, May 4—Estonia and Ukraine initialed bilateral civil aviation agreement on Tuesday [4 May], the Director General of Estonia's Aviation Board, Mati Sormus, told ETA.

Ukraine is interested in wider use of Estonia's air space and opening of additional airlines besides Tallinn-Kiev, Sormus said.

## Latvia

### Supreme Council: No Confidence in Agriculture Minister

*LD0405141093 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1300 GMT 4 May 93*

[Text] Today after long debates the Supreme Council with 62 votes in favor, 14 against and 42 absentions, expressed no confidence in Minister of Agriculture Dainis Gegers.

Janis Kinna, the chairman of the Agriculture and Forestry Commission and the initiator of this decision, called on the Parliament to express no confidence in the minister blaming him for both the economic activity of the Lata foreign trade firm, and the slow pace of the privatization process in food processing enterprises, as well as of the distribution of the credit from G-24 member states. He also mentioned the unpaid debts to farmers for products supplied.

Ivars Godmanis, chairman of the Council of Ministers, speaks of the consideration of this issue as of a political game during the election campaign. Godmanis called on the parliament to allow the government to work in the present composition until the termination of its powers.

Kazimirs Slakota, minister of forestry, warned that the expression of no confidence in Dainis Gegers does not yet mean that the debt will automatically be paid to farmers.

### Minister's Supporters Picket Parliament

*LD0405150293 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1300 GMT 4 May 93*

[Text] A picket was held in the parliament chambers for the first time in its history. As deputy Andris Ligotnis, who carried out an investigation on his own initiative, explained, 16 supporters of the Agriculture and Economic Commission and 12 Gegers supporters held the picket in the chambers of the Supreme Council.

### Godmanis Delegation Departs for France

*LD0405191293 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1700 GMT 4 May 93*

[Text] This afternoon Prime Minister Ivars Godmanis, Minister of Economic Reform Aivars Kreituss, and the premier's adviser on foreign policy questions Edvins Inkens set off for France. The Latvian delegation is due to have meetings in Paris with the French ministers of industry, agriculture and fisheries, and foreign trade, deputies of the parliamentary Baltic Support Group, and representatives of business.

### Defense Chief Protests Russian Army Staff Exercise

*LD0405224393 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1700 GMT 4 May 93*

[Text] Defense Minister Talavs Jundzis has sent an open letter to Leonid Mayorov, commander of the Northwestern Group of Forces of the Russian Army. It says that there is irrefutable information at the disposal of the Ministry about exercises conducted by the staff of the Northwestern Group of Forces on from 19 to 22 April this year on the territory of the Baltic states, during which there was a theoretical fulfillment of the work of the Rapid Reaction Group in seizing important transport and communications junctions and neutralizing the national armed formations of the Baltic countries until the moment of arrival of reinforcements.

### NATO General Arrives in Riga on 3-Day Visit

*WS0505082593 Riga LETA in English 1359 GMT 4 May 93*

[Text] Riga, May 4 (LETA)—On Tuesday the NATO'S general, Harry Johnson, arrived in Riga on a three-day visit in order to meet with Andreyis Krastinsh, the Latvian Supreme Council's deputy chairman, and with the leaders of the Parliamentary Commission on Defence and Internal Affairs and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Harry Johnson will have talks with the Latvian Minister of the Defence Forces, Dainis Turlais.

### Meets Defense Minister, Forces Commander

*LD0505102493 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 0900 GMT 5 May 93*

[Text] General Harry Johnson, commander of the Northern European Group of NATO Forces, is continuing his visit to Riga. This morning he met Latvian Defense Minister Talavs Jundzis, Colonel Dainis Turlais, commander of the defense forces, and his deputies. A news conference is concluding at the Defense Ministry at the moment. In the afternoon General Johnson, commander of the Northern European Group of NATO Forces, will visit a reconnaissance battalion of the Latvian defense forces at Suzi and will get acquainted with soldiers' every day life. At 1700 at the Danish Embassy the NATO general will meet ambassadors of NATO member states accredited in Latvia.

## Lithuania

### Further on Controversy Over U.S. Envoy Recall

### Brazauskas Criticizes Envoy

*LD0405143593 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 2300 GMT 3 May 93*

[Text] President Algirdas Brazauskas has openly expressed his dissatisfaction with Stasys Lozoraitis, Lithuanian ambassador to Washington.

Speaking on Lithuanian radio today, Mr. Brazauskas publicly criticized Stasys Lozoraitis just before the beginning of a governmental meeting to discuss Lozoraitis' official recall from Washington. Mr. Brazauskas noted that although the recall seemed to stress certain emotions, it was only logical, since an ambassador has to represent the state and maintain close contacts with it. Besides, he also has to regularly inform the Foreign Ministry and the president about current developments.

According to Algirdas Brazauskas, the Lithuanian government waited long enough for fully cooperation with its own ambassador to begin. He also remarked that the issue is purely factual and has no political aspects to it.

Meanwhile, Vytautas Landsbergis, leader of the parliamentary opposition, said at today's news conference that the decision by the Foreign Ministry to recall Stasys Lozoraitis from the United States was detrimental to the state. Mr. Landsbergis remarked that this was a party decision which may have been influenced by personal dislike or even a feeling of revenge by some high-ranking officials for a former presidential rival. The destruction of yet another important state institution does not add to the popularity of the new Lithuanian government, either at home or in the United States, Mr. Landsbergis stated.

Vytautas Lansdbergis also voiced over the possible signing of bilateral agreements between Lithuania and Russia during the forthcoming visit of President Brazauskas to Moscow. Neither the Lithuanian negotiating

team nor the Seimas knows anything about the contents of these agreements, Mr. Landsbergis said.

### Center Movement Opposes Recall

*LD0405164593 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0900 GMT 4 May 93*

[Text] A statement by the Lithuanian Center Movement on the dismissal of Stasys Lozoraitis was distributed among journalists today. It reads:

The dismissal of the Lithuanian ambassador to the United States and the Holy See, Stasys Lozoraitis, from his post of ambassador to the United States would weaken Lithuania's relations in the world at this especially difficult and responsible time for our state. The dismissal would only reinforce the opinion voiced in the world that the Lithuanian state has no firm policy of independence. The Lithuanian Center Movement states that it would regard the dismissal of Stasys Lozoraitis from the post of ambassador to the United States as an incompetent foreign policy step that might seriously harm the interests of the Lithuanian state.

This statement was signed by the chairman of the board of the Lithuanian Center Movement, Romualdas Ozolas.

### Landsbergis Calls Decision 'Disadvantageous'

*WS0405143893 Tallinn BNS in English 1901 GMT 3 May 93*

[Text] Vilnius, May 03, BNS—A decision to recall Lithuania's U.S. Ambassador Stasys Lozoraitis would be disadvantageous to the country, charged opposition leader Vytautas Landsbergis.

Landsbergis said the decision is "party-like, maybe even related to personal antipathy of other high-ranking officials and vengeance upon a competitor at the presidential elections."

The opposition leader told the media Monday that he regrets "yet another very important institution is ruined." This will not increase the popularity of the new Lithuanian authorities either in Lithuania or the United States, he said.

Landsbergis' statement followed his visit to Great Britain and the United States, where he participated in international conferences. It was during the trip that Foreign Minister Povilas Gylys announced his intentions to transfer Lozoraitis from Washington to Rome.

The opposition leader said he visited the Lithuanian embassy in Washington and was convinced that the work of its staff is well coordinated.

However he refused to present Lozoraitis' comments, saying he hopes that the ambassador will make some statement himself.

Lozoraitis virtually declined the foreign minister's offer, saying in the press that he is waiting for a decision of the president and is not willing to negotiate with a minister.

Meanwhile, Landsbergis said he sees "an attempt to intrigue this rationally groundless step."

"The information circulated by the BNS from anonymous sources, saying that former parliament chairman Vytautas Landsbergis wanted to demote ambassador Lozoraitis for his independent position is completely incorrect," says the opposition leader in his statement.

In relation to this Landsbergis asked for explanations from a BNS correspondent during the Monday press conference, asking for the correspondent's sources.

He said that the BNS report uses the word "observers" and this "could be anyone, or maybe no one. This resembles the style of certain yellow newspapers," he said. "A serious agency like this most probably has its sources."

Landsbergis referred to BNS several times during the press conference saying its report is "an insinuation."

This was not the first time that Landsbergis heaped criticism on BNS. The most serious attack took place at a press conference in September when he virtually accused BNS of political sabotage and urged "fellow journalists" to be careful about BNS reports.

### Ambassador Discusses Reassignment

*WS0505120993 Tallinn BNS in English 1824 GMT 4 May 93*

[Text] Vilnius, May 04, BNS—For Stasys Lozoraitis, Lithuania's ambassador to the United States, now is a time for personal reflection.

Lozoraitis says he regrets that his career as a diplomat was affected by personal ambitions, which he admits should not be present in state affairs.

The president of Lithuania is expected to issue a decree on Lozoraitis' transfer from Washington to Rome within several day.

The shift was planned by the previous administration and Italy sent its official agreement to accept Lozoraitis as Lithuania's ambassador at the very peak of the presidential campaign in Lithuania. The ambassador lost to his rival Algirdas Brazauskas, but managed to win nearly 40 percent of votes.

In an interview with the daily LIETUVOS RYTAS, Lozoraitis said if he had "made certain gestures" he would most probably continue work in Washington.

He stepped on a few political toes when he flagged the presidential inauguration in Vilnius, he admitted. But, he explained, he did not get an invitation, and an ambassador is not obliged to be present at the inauguration.

Lozoraitis said he does not avoid contacts with Lithuanian authorities. President Brazauskas and Foreign Minister Povilas Gylys were invited to the opening of the Jewish Holocaust Museum in April, he countered, but they both refused saying their were extremely busy.

Lozoraitis gave his interview to LIETUVOS RYTAS Sunday. On Monday Brazauskas publicly accused the ambassador for the first time of avoiding cooperation with Lithuanian state authorities.

The foreign ministry's North America department refused to specify how ambassadors communicate with the ministry and whether Lozoraitis' activities satisfied such requirements.

Meanwhile, the ambassador told the daily RESPUBLIKA that cooperation is absent from both sides. There are not enough clear instructions from Vilnius with clearly defined interests of Lithuania in the United States, he said. Observers tend to claim there is another Lithuanian emigrant behind the whole affair—Kazys Bobelis, chairman of the parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee.

The well-to-do surgeon Bobelis, member of the scanty Lithuanian Christian Democratic Union, won an easy victory in a single-mandate district and entered the parliament last year. However he was accused by the rightists of not having Lithuanian citizenship and the necessary term of residence in Lithuania. The Supreme Court rejected the accusations.

Bobelis entered into close relations with the ruling Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party soon after the parliamentary elections and was elected chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee. He was a member of Brazauskas' election headquarters during the presidential campaign and was the most severe critic of presidential candidate Lozoraitis.

The ambassador used to say he was accountable to the foreign ministry, but not the Foreign Affairs Committee, and that he has little common subjects with Bobelis.

"I think that Mr. Bobelis can be the last to reproach our embassy," Lozoraitis told LIETUVOS RYTAS. "It seems that concentration on one embassy and one ambassador is not normal and is completely personal. I can only regret that personal ambitions may have their consequences, whereas this should not happen in a state."

Bobelis has been dubbed "the gray cardinal" by the parliament's staff and journalists. His son was employed as an adviser at the Foreign Ministry. Bobelis denied rumors that his son might replace Lozoraitis in Washington.

State officials named Vytautas Cekanauskas, Lithuania's honorary consul in Los Angeles, as the future charge d'affaires in Washington. He is considered a good friend of Bobelis. Cekanauskas' name became known to the wide public in Lithuania only in relation to the intended rearrangement of diplomats.

Lozoraitis reminded LIETUVOS RYTAS that Cekanauskas is a U.S. citizen. He will have "to go through the necessary formalities until he is able to present his name for approval to U.S. authorities," he said. "This will take quite a while."

Lozoraitis also pointed out that nobody consulted the Lithuanian community in the United States, which covers a greater part of the embassy's expenses.

## Prime Minister Comments on Social Policy Problems

*LD3004174493 Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 29 Apr 93*

[Report by correspondent Andrius Uzkalnis on remarks by Prime Minister Adolfas Slezevicius at news conference on 29 April; place not given; Slezevicius remarks recorded]

[Text] A Lithuanian working person is paid $28 a month, an average pension amounts to about $7 a month, converting the coupons at present exchange rates. Prime Minister Adolfas Slezevicius mentioned these figures when speaking to journalists today. His news conference was attended by Andrius Uzkalnis:

[Uzkalnis] Social policy is one of the unavoidable priorities in government work, the prime minister said. According to him, many energy resources, raw materials, and goods are being purchased by Lithuania at world prices. Meanwhile the income of people, especially of those who must be socially supported, is extremely low. The life of pensioners, who constitute almost one-fourth of Lithuania's people, is very hard.

The Lithuanian economic situation is very difficult, Adolfas Slezevicius said. Agricultural and industrial production have declined as never before, and one should not expect economic miracles and a speedy stabilization. But even in this situation the state must take care of people who are facing critical times, the premier stressed.

[Slezevicius] The government, having thoroughly analyzed all possibilities, does not see any other means or other ways of finding the resources to increase pensions, the wages of workers in culture, education, the health service, law enforcement workers, or officials at the budget institutions, so that we can eliminate the disproportions of the last few months when the indexes of prices have been increasing much faster than the rate of wages and pensions, and here a compulsory method, which of course has no economic basis—and we are aware of this—it is a very complex step but, in our opinion, essential.

[Uzkalnis] The pensions and wages of the officials at the budget institutions will be increased from 1 May on average by 40 percent. Part of the Western credits is to be used for this purpose. But, in the opinion of the majority of experts, such use of borrowed money is a not

a long-term measure but a populist one. It means only pushing off the problem to the future. Replying to such criticism, Adolfas Slezevicius said:

[Slezevicius] A measure when credit resources must be used for the raising of wages and pensions, is an extreme measure which is essential, I am deeply convinced, in the present situation facing a large part of our population. We are compelled to solve these issues in order not to continue increasing the social tension which is being escalated, apart from that, by various possible means by various political groups. Without doubt, this is a very bad phenomenon and it increases social tension and antagonism among people. But this is a separate topic. Of course, the demand by the IMF is very correct, that credit resources should be, above all, directed to investments.

[Uzkalnis] Adolfas Slezevicius stressed that so far all foreign credits obtained by Lithuania have been allocated, according to him, for eating and heating. Grain, diesel fuel, and other energy resources are being purchased.

[Slezevicius] But we can say that the credit resources used by us have been allocated for eating. Not a single marked investment project has been realized from all the obtained credit resources. It means that we find nothing new here. Unfortunately, we have no means to stop this negative process at once.

The premier said that money allocated for the increase of wages at the budget institutions and of pensions are not substantial on the scale of the country's economy.

[Slezevicius] About 1.5-2 billion [currency not stated] a month would be needed to increase pensions. The same amount would be needed to solve the wages of the abovementioned officials. At first sight, the sum seems to be large, but on the scale of the economy it is insignificant. It would mean about $3-4 million. For comparison, we will have to spend in Ignalina about $100 million a on the purchase of energy resources.

## Armed Forces Fail To Recruit Enough Soldiers

*LD0405165493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1610 GMT 4 May 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladas Burbulis]

[Text] Vilnius May 4 TASS—"The Lithuanian armed forces need 4,000 recruits. However, the government authorized military establishments to recruit only 2,700 young men, due to the absence of money, uniforms, facilities and arms," Deputy Lithuanian National Security Minister Jonas Giacas told the REPUBLIC newspaper today.

Only 40 per cent of recruits have arrived to enlistment offices, ten per cent of them were recognized ineligible by medical commissions, he said.